

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. II.

No. 3.

ORIENTAL CYLINDERS OF THE WILLIAMS COLLECTION.

[PLATES V, VI.]

The Oriental cylinders which we publish in plates v and vi belong to the collection of Mr. R. S. Williams of Utica, N. Y. This collection was begun some years ago by his brother, the late Rev. Dr. Williams, who was for many years a missionary in Syria, and who assisted at Layard's excavations : it has been increased from time to time by the present owner, who has maintained relations with Syria. The subjects which we have reproduced, though few, are sufficient to show the general characteristics of the art of gem-cutting in Western Asia, and the differences which characterize it, according to period and locality. In order to fully understand the motives which lead us to attribute these works to a precise time or place, some preliminary remarks are necessary, which may be supplemented by consulting the more detailed examination which has been made in our studies on Oriental glyptics.¹

It is well known that the cylinders are cut in a hard stone,—porphyry, jasper, hematite, rock-crystal or any other *pietra-dura*; as well as in ivory and bone. They are generally pierced through the axis; the engraving occupies the convex surface; it is an intaglio, which it is impossible to study without taking an impression of the subject on

¹ *Les Pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie. Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale*: 2 vols. roy. 8vo., Paris, 1883–86.

a plastic substance : taken with care, this impression gives the subject in a bas-relief which the heliotype faithfully reproduces. A knowledge is thus acquired, not only of the subject, but also of the work of the artist, and even of the different processes which he employed. Oriental cylinders always served a threefold purpose : they were ornaments, amulets and seals. The subjects engraved on them represent, either episodes of the ancient legends of Chaldaea; or religious ceremonies ; rarely scenes of mere fancy. They are often accompanied by inscriptions the extent of which varies according to the idea that was uppermost at their making. When they were considered principally as amulets or talismans, the owner inscribed a formula of prayer, or an incantation ; sometimes the name of one or two divinities. Most frequently, in accord with the use of the cylinder as a seal,² he inscribed on it his name and his filiation, with a formula of adoration of one of the divinities of the Assyro-Chaldaean Pantheon.³ The inscriptions rarely give any information as to the subject of the scene. Still, they are of great importance ; for the paleographic study which they render possible gives exact indications as to their epoch, and consequently of the period to which the execution of the cylinder should be referred. Some inscriptions contain the name of a sovereign the date of whose reign is already known,⁴ and these cylinders therefore constitute precious examples of the glyptic art of those dates. If, for Chaldea, we were confined merely to these indications, however precise they may be, our means of appreciation would be very limited, but we have others which result from the use of these intaglios as seals. By this means an indication is given which enables us to fix the latest date at which certain artistic types were in use.

Excavations have brought to light contract-tablets dating from the earliest times down to the period of the Seleucidæ, which bear the impression of the seals of the contracting parties, and the date at which they were executed,—the day, the month, and the year. We thus have positive proof as to what types were used at the time when these contracts were made.⁵ For Assyria, a further indication is

²The word *kunuk*—“seal” is found on some cylinders. Cf. our *Empreintes de Cylindres assyro-chaldéens relevés sur des contrats d'intérêt privé au Musée Britannique*: Paris, 1880, p. 26.

³Glyptique orientale: Introduction, p. 20.

⁴Collection de Clercq: *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné*, Introduction, p. 4.

⁵Empreintes de Cylindres assyro-chaldéens, etc.: Paris, 1880.

given by a comparison of the subjects of the cylinders with those of the bas-reliefs sculptured on the walls of the palaces, the ruins of which have been excavated. We see, then, that the artists, both sculptors and engravers, were inspired by the same ideas; and, while incorporating them by different means, they did not deviate from the traditions accepted at the centre where they lived. The establishment of these points in a great number of cases about which there can be no doubt, makes it possible by analogy to relate works which do not present any distinctive marks, to others whose places in the great periods of history have already been determined. This short preamble would not be complete, if we did not hint at the difficulties presented by the history of the glyptic art in Western Asia. The Assyro-Chaldaeans were not alone in making use of cylinders. We find them in use among all their neighbors: hence, it may readily be understood that the elements of a rigorous classification are sometimes wanting. Egypt, Phoenicia, Armenia, and above all Asia Minor, present, in this respect, more than one enigma. The information which we gather regarding the Hittites, whose civilization is scarcely beginning to be revealed to us, tempt one to relate to their monuments a quantity of cylinders the explanation of which is still the cause of great embarrassment to the historian. Finally, if in certain cases the subjects present the characteristics of a work pure in its conception and in its execution, there are also examples which result from numerous influences produced by conquests or by defeats, and which affect the entire life of a people. Hence arise medleys in which the attributes, the symbols, the subjects, and even the nature of the inscriptions, are confounded. These are transitional works in which it is difficult to estimate what share belongs to the victors, and what to the vanquished, and consequently to determine the provenance of the monument.

These few remarks are sufficient to enable one to follow the description of our cylinders, and to understand the considerations which have led us either to assign to them a precise origin or to abstain from all attribution.

CHALDAEAN CYLINDERS.

It is well known that the beginnings of civilization in Babylonia are not accessible to the historian; still, certain works of this remote period have come down to us. At the period when a determined date

can first be assigned to any events of this ancient civilization (about forty centuries before our era), Lower Mesopotamia contained several cities already famous, Ur, Larsam, and Erech, which appear to have by turns disputed the supremacy, until Babylon finally obtained dominion over all these rival cities. We possess monuments of these different localities, cylinders which bear the names of their ancient sovereigns. These give sure points of comparison which allow us to appreciate the characteristic differences in the work of the artists, and to recognize, by an examination of their processes and of their tendency to devote themselves to one subject more than another, distinctive traditions which form what may be considered as *Schools*.⁶ We will now seek to justify these remarks by examining some specimens from the collection which forms the subject of this paper, and we will first study the works which we attribute to the legendary age.

Data which enable us to assign an approximate period to these archaic works are found on contract-tablets dating from the time of Hammurabi,—the first King of Babylon who united under the same sceptre all the ancient capitals of Lower Babylonia,—on which are impressions of cylinders which represent animals whose species it is difficult to determine; they rise on their hind legs and throw themselves upon each other, as if to devour one another; sometimes man appears as a mediator. This type must have disappeared about the time of Hammurabi: even at this remote period it had become worn-out and antiquated: we are thus led to attribute to it an earlier origin, and consequently to refer it back to legendary times. Now, it is precisely this scene that we find represented on *Cylinder No. 1* (porphyritic obsidian: height 2.5, diam. 1.4 centim.). The question arises, what was the origin of this subject? There is a well-known legend, *the legend of Izdubar*,⁷ in which it is said that "in the beginning," the world was inhabited by strange animals in the midst of which man lived in peace. Can our subject be an allusion to this ancient tradition? It is allowable to suppose this; and for this reason we attribute to the legendary period the subject and the execution of the cylinder in question. Scenes of this kind are very numerous and varied; still, it is always the same thought that inspires the artist, and which he embodies with more or less talent. This cylinder shows a certain

⁶ *Glyptique orientale*, Part I, p. 83.

⁷ G. SMITH, *The Chaldean account of Genesis*, p. 202, Tab. III, col. 4.

amount of skill; the glyptic art was not in its infancy; the traces of the instrument often disappear under the influence of a conscious attempt at modelling, and to conform to the requirements of a symmetry which the taste for the fantastic does not exclude.

Cylinder No. 14 (bone: h. 1.5, d. 0.7 cent.) presents a subject of the same nature, but rudely executed. The arrangement of figures is confused, and it is only by a careful comparison with *replicas* more finely worked, that they can be made out. The hero of the legend illustrated by the artist stands with extended arms in the midst of the animals which are standing erect around him. On his right is a carnivorous animal always difficult to name; he has a hideous head, and a neck covered with a thick mane. On his left is a lion, easier to recognize; and in the field are small animals or symbols the drawing of which is too imperfect to enable us to identify them.

After these works of the primitive period, we come to scenes of a more precise character, in which personages occupy the principal position, and the scenes are religious. It is possible to distinguish, by the differences of costume, the localities whence the artist took his models for the creation of types which, after gaining acceptance, were transmitted by tradition down to quite a late period. The type of the cylinders of this kind is given by a fine cylinder in the British Museum, which was long mislaid: it was originally published by Rich, Ker-Porter and Dorow, and we have reproduced it in our *Glyptique orientale* (Part I, p. 129). The inscription informs us that this cylinder was the seal of a sovereign whose name we read *Urkham*,⁸ the earliest king of Ur, who reigned thirty centuries before our era.

Cylinder No. 11 (hematite: h. 2.7, d. 1.6 cent.) represents a scene analogous to that engraved on the cylinder of Urkham, only it is rudely executed. It is composed of three principal figures: first, a divinity, seated on a throne without a back, and enveloped in a very characteristic long robe;⁹ a small figure, the lower part of whose

⁸ We might also compare this scene with that which is engraved on a cylinder of the Museum of Berlin, and which bears the name of Gamil-Sin. Prof. Schrader was the first to publish this important cylinder, which we have reproduced in our *Glyptique orientale*, Part I, p. 131.

⁹ Different scholars consider this garment to be *plaited*, or *spiral*, or even *flounced* (?). M. Heuzey thinks that this arrangement is the result of a conventional method of representing the fabric, which he considers to be a rich tissue ornamented on one side only with a long fleece. See, in the *Comptes-rendus de l'Institut*, April 16th 1886, the note of M. HEUZEY, *Sur une étoffe chaldéenne*.

body has disappeared, is prostrated at his feet; then come two figures who approach the god with raised hands, in the attitude of adoration. The field of the cylinder is thickly covered: we see, in strange confusion, different symbols,—the shining disk within the crescent of the moon; a bird; then a sort of staff, the symbol of justice;¹⁰ finally, other small animals the character of which it is impossible to define. The inscription, which consists of two lines of writing, seems to have replaced a primitive inscription; the form of the characters is such as to make it impossible to read them. Under the cartouche may be seen the upper part of the body of a small animal, probably a dog or a lion.

Cylinder No. 12 (hematite: h. 1.9, d. 0.9 cent.) presents an analogous ceremony, completed by the addition of a fourth figure standing on an animal which probably is, as on the preceding cylinder, a dog or a lion. Figures standing on animals are often met with on intaglios and bas-reliefs. This position undoubtedly had a mythical significance; the difficulty is to discover the myth which thus associates the animal with the divinity. We have been able to discover some of these relations. Thus, when we see a goddess standing on a lion, we know at once that it is Ishtar, because we are acquainted with a text which tells us that this animal was dedicated to her.¹¹ In this cylinder there is but a vague indication of the animal; and, on the other hand, though the figure, by its pose and its head-dress, may be considered a god, we do not know by what name to designate him.

Cylinder No. 6 (hematite: h. 1.5, d. 0.8 cent.) gives us a new subject. We see on a sort of platform two divinities of rigid figure, seated one in front of the other; under the platform is a lion facing to the right. Then, three standing figures advance toward the platform, with their hands raised in adoration; the second one carries a small animal in his arms. On the field is the symbol of justice, and behind the two divinities a sort of undulating line, very frequent on the cylinders of this period, which may be taken for the branch of a tree or for a serpent; it appears, however, only to mark the division of the scene.¹² The subject is a phase of *the sacrifice of the kid*. This theme has given rise to a great variety of representations, in which the role, the costumes, and the disposition of the figures

¹⁰ *Glyptique orientale*, Part I, p. 246.

¹¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, IV, 66, rev.; c. 6, l. 25.

¹² This mistake has given rise to the most erroneous suppositions, which we have duly disposed of (*Glyptique orientale*, Part I, p. 189).

may vary, but which leave no doubt as to the ensemble of the ceremony.¹³

Cylinder No. 4 (hematite : h. 1.8, d. 1.1 cent.) represents an act of adoration of another description. The god, or his pontiff, in a long robe, is standing with the right leg advanced; two figures approach him, with the hand raised in adoration. The inscription of two lines contains the names of two divinities, *An-ut* = "Samas," and *An-a-a* = "Malik." The reading of the name "Samas" has been for a long time ascertained: it is not so with that of "Malik." At first the ideogram *An-a-a* was read "Ilai" or "Ilaya;" then was adopted the reading "Malik," introducing into the Assyrian pantheon, without positive proof, a divinity corresponding to the Moloch of Phœnician mythology. Now, a passage in the lists of divinities, so numerous on the Assyrian tablets, seems to indicate that the ideogram *An-a-a* designates a female divinity; moreover an inscription of Saos-Duchinos (Samas-sum-ukin) makes her the *betrothed of the Sun*. The reading "Malik" is therefore essentially provisional.¹⁴

Cylinder No. 2 (hematite: h. 1.5, d. 0.8 cent.) gives only the rude sketch of an act of adoration, which cannot be defined owing to the insufficiency of the design: however, it is possible to distinguish the whimsical indication of two figures marching towards a fantastic animal, whose image is repeated behind him in inverse position; finally, in the field, reappears that undulating line, a branch or serpent, of which we have already spoken. The technic of the engraving, precisely on account of its unskilfulness, merits examination: it shows a naive manner of representing figures. The head is formed by three strokes, which are sufficient to indicate its position and head-dress; the body is confined to a few lines; the legs, though drawn with a single stroke, show the direction in which the figures move. These productions of a primitive art are interesting to study: they show us what can be accomplished by the effort of the artist when he desires to make himself understood, notwithstanding the insufficiency of his execution; an engraver of a more advanced period would never be so naive and at the same time so skilful.

Cylinder No. 7 (hematite : h. 2.4, d. 0.9 cent.) represents again an episode of the sacrifice of the kid; we did not analyze it by the side

¹³ See especially the subjects represented in the plates of the *Catalogue* of the *Collection de Clercq*, Nos. 149 to 175. Cf. same scene in Metrop. Mus., N. Y.

¹⁴ Cf. the note of M. Oppert in the *Catalogue de Clercq*, p. 57.

of cylinder No. 6, though it has an analogous scene, because the execution of this intaglio denotes another origin. It is certain that this cylinder belongs to Chaldæa, but we are not able to attribute it to a precise locality, because means of comparison are wanting. The intaglio exhibits an entirely different execution and figures wearing a different costume. The pontiff or god wears a hat with the brim turned up: he is armed with a sword, and wears a long robe richly ornamented: before him are three figures; the first in a short tunic, with his foot resting on a chimera, is followed by a second figure dressed in a long robe, turning back towards the third, who carries the kid in his arms. In the upper part of the field, in front of the divinity, is the disk within the crescent, and below, the symbol of justice.

The subject of *Cylinder No. 13* (hematite: h. 1.5, d. 0.8 cent.) is of great simplicity. A standing figure, robed in a short tunic, holds with the left hand, brought to the waist, a sword or a club; the right hand hangs naturally by the side of the body. He stands boldly before the pontiff, who appears to bless him. This motive is repeated to satiety on the cylinders of Chaldæa. I have long questioned what the first figure could be. I formerly took it to be a *warrior*,¹⁵ but I have been obliged to discard this view, and to restore to it its true character, which I will here explain. In seeking, among the numerous intaglios which I have studied, the scenes in which this figure is represented, I recognized it on a series of cylinders which reproduce the different phases of a human sacrifice, from the moment when the pontiff blesses the victim, to the time when it falls under the stroke of the sacrificer.¹⁶ We find that the repulsive figure which fills this office always has the same features, the same costume, and it is he who finally remains alone in the presence of the pontiff. It must therefore be admitted that this figure is only the personification of that holocaust which was only too real in all the primitive civilizations of the ancient East. When human sacrifices finally disappeared actually from Chaldæa, they were still represented by the *Sacrificer*, who perpetuated symbolically the tradition of them. The favor which these sacrifices enjoyed, explains why subjects of this nature are so numerous, for, if the human victim was no longer in reality immolated on the altar, it was still believed possible to satisfy this supreme holocaust by the symbol which consecrated the mysterious memory of it,

¹⁵ Catalogue des cylindres orientaux du Musée de La Haye, Nos. 90-111, 91-83.

¹⁶ Glyptique orientale, Part 1, p. 150, Nos. 94-96.

as the highest homage that could be rendered to the divinity. The inscriptions on these cylinders often contain the names of only two divinities, which in this case are those of Samas and Malik. Above all, let us beware of seeing in the latter name a distant allusion to the Phoenician Moloch. However tempting this connection may be for the corroboration of our opinion on the role of the figure which we have described, it must be renounced. We cannot repeat too often, that the reading Malik is not yet proved.¹⁷

ASSYRIAN CYLINDERS.

Assyrian cylinders do not carry us back to so early a period as those of Chaldæa. They present, doubtless for that very reason, phases more determinable by the technical processes employed by the artists. From this point of view two Schools may be distinguished, whose seat, however, remains undetermined. On one side, the School which employed the process of execution with the *point*; on the other, that which gave the preference to the use of the *bouterolle*, or drill;¹⁸ until the artist, by the union of these two processes, removed all traces of the instrument, and produced those beautiful works of the art of the Sargonide.

Cylinder No. 5 (ivory: h. 2.5, d. 1.0 cent.) is a specimen of work with the point, very easily recognized by the deep and sharp lines which have left on the stone a drawing without modelling, dry and entirely linear. The subject represents the often repeated scene of adoration: it differs entirely from the Chaldean type, but the elements of it may be found on the Assyrian bas-reliefs.

Cylinder No. 9 (obsidian: h. 2.6, d. 1.1 cent.) shows a kneeling archer aiming his arrows at a wild animal; the field is covered by various symbols. The technic of the engraving, which is especially interesting, is so closely related to that of the preceding cylinder that it evidently belongs to the same School.

Cylinder No. 16 (yellow agate: h. 3.6, d. 1.4 cent.) represents a standing archer shooting an arrow at the winged bull; behind the scene is a tree; and in the field, above, the symbol of the supreme god, and below, that of the sacred tree. An analogous scene is given on the cylinder reproduced in plate VII, No. 6, of our *Glyptique orientale*,

¹⁷ See remarks on cylinder No. 4, p. 253.

¹⁸ *Glyptique orientale*, Part II, p. 22.

Part II. The technic of the intaglio is still the same; but the forms are more rounded, an attempt at modelling being apparent; and here and there the drill has left evident traces of its use.

Cylinder No. 3 (chalcedony : h. 1.9, d. 1.0 cent.) shows us the rough beginning of work with the drill. The drill (*bouterolle*) is an instrument which the artist uses by giving it a rapid rotary movement, producing round concave holes by the means of which he first rudely sketches his figures, perfecting them afterward by giving more delicacy to the work and by making it follow more closely the forms of the body. A beautiful cylinder of the Museum of Florence shows that this method of execution was employed for the seal of a Prefect of Kalah.¹⁹ Taking this indication, in the absence of any other, as a basis, we have attributed this kind of work, perhaps rather arbitrarily, to the artists of Kalah. By studying a group of cylinders of the same kind, it is possible to clearly distinguish the scene on this cylinder. On the left is a divinity wearing the tiara, with long curling hair, and dressed in a short tunic over which falls a long robe descending to the heels, leaving the left leg uncovered: the figure is surrounded by an aureole whose rays are tipped with pearls; in front of this divinity stands, in adoration, a figure whose costume could also be restored: in the field, above, is the symbol of the supreme god, and below, a rude indication of the sacred tree. All this is represented on our cylinder, only it is in the condition of a rough sketch: in order to understand it, it is necessary to consult the cylinders of the same kind which present the different stages of the work, until there is no longer any doubt as to the expression of the thought of the artist.

To the preceding subject should be compared that of the fine *Cylinder No. 8* (sapphirine chalcedony : h. 3.4, d. 1.5 cent.). It bears traces of the same processes, but shows how well a gem-cutter could make use of them. The subject is of the greatest interest, and the inscription itself gives to this work a capital importance. We here find two distinct scenes: that on the left is but the correctly executed form of the rough design in the preceding one, but here all the details are clear. A beardless divinity stands on a pedestal; a star that shines over its head shows it to be Ishtar;²⁰ on her head is the high

¹⁹ *Glyptique orientale*, Part II, p. 36.

²⁰ The attributes of Ishtar were numerous, and it is not unusual to see her designated by either a lion or a star, or even by other symbols which it is needless to specify here.

tiara, with a double row of horns, and she is richly robed in a short tunie over which hangs a long garment which opens so as to leave the advanced right leg uncovered. She is armed with bow and quiver, drawn inside the aureole that partly encircles her. The robes are richly adorned with fringes, embroideries, and plaits. Before her stands, in adoration, a male figure with long beard and curling hair falling on his shoulders, and dressed in a long robe. This scene occurs frequently on other cylinders by the side of different subjects which need not here be mentioned. It will be interesting, however, to study the same scene on a cylinder of the British Museum whose size and perfect execution show the real character of the figure which is being adored.²¹ The artist, while giving to the worshipper a life-like appearance, has given to the goddess the stiffness of a statue. It is an *eikon* executed by the engravers of this period with a very clear intention, and always successfully rendered.

The second scene is more complicated but is easily explained : it represents the god Marduk pursuing with his arrow Tihamat, the Sea-Dragon. This theme is borrowed from an ancient Chaldaean legend very popular in Assyria.²² The god, wearing the tiara, bearded, dressed in a long robe open in front which leaves the right leg exposed, and standing on a winged lion that rushes along at full gallop, pursues the monster, at which he is shooting an arrow : from his belt hang a sword and a sickle. The Dragon is a winged quadruped which, while fleeing from the god, turns back towards him his head with a hideous grimace. This scene is given in the sculptures of the palace of Nimrûd,²³ and the details of the costume of the god and the characteristics of the dragon can be clearly distinguished. But, at Nimrûd, Marduk is armed with the thunderbolt, and is enveloped in a double pair of wings. The monster is, with slight variations, of the characteristic type always attributed to him,—a winged lion, raised on his hind legs, whose body is covered with feathers, and whose legs terminate in vulture's claws.²⁴ This subject has been often reproduced by the gem-cutters. A rough design of it is given on a

²¹ *Glyptique orientale*, Part II, fig. 37.

²² G. SMITH, *The Chaldaean account of Genesis*, pp. 90, 91.

²³ LAYARD, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Second series, pl. 5.

²⁴ There has just been communicated to me a cylinder on which the dragon is represented in the shape of a serpent, and Marduk is armed with the thunderbolt, and is enveloped in a double pair of wings, as in the Nimrûd bas-reliefs.

cylinder of the *Collection de Clercq* (*Catalogue*, pl. XXXI, No. 331), and replicas of it can be examined in my work, *Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale* (Part II, p. 44 *sqq.*).

An examination of the inscription shows, at once, that this has all the importance of a royal cylinder. We can read, in the field, an inscription traced parallel with the axis, and whose confused characters, occupying the space left free by the figures, show, at the beginning, the sign  , which denotes a *royal rank*.²⁵ The scribe who made use of it,—and was secretary to the chancellor of a sovereign whose name is not here expressed,—is called “Marduk-zir-idin, son of” Here I must stop, as the impression does not allow me to read the end of the inscription.

To what nation or period can we assign the two remaining cylinders, Nos. 10 and 15? Serious difficulties stand in the way of any attribution. They have no very definite character, and are evidently specimens of an art in a state either of transition or of decadence, in which various elements were combined. The Phoenicians are, of all nations, those who most contributed to this confusion: having no national art, they unconsciously combined, in the same intaglio, figures from the art of Assyria, of Egypt or some other nation: they sometimes confined themselves to tracing a name in their own alphabet on the field of a cylinder of foreign origin, thus destroying its originality. It seems to have been otherwise with the nations of Asia Minor. The Hittites have left, at different points in Asia Minor, monuments of a distinct style accompanied by characteristic inscriptions, which have furnished types that are recognizable on a large number of cylinders. Unfortunately, many of these works have come under Phoenician influence, and hence show much-altered elements. Can these two cylinders be attributed to the Hittites? Just so much as we were affirmative, in cases where in the field of the cylinders were inscribed Hittite hieroglyphs by the side of figures that could be compared to those of Eujuk or Boghaz-Keui,²⁶ just so reserved should we be when these distinguishing elements are wanting. It is true that some cylinders are so far removed from the art of both Chaldea and Assyria that, on examining them, one may be tempted to attribute them to the nearest neighbors of these two nations; and, in fact, the great empire

²⁵ This sign is distinct from that which belongs to the ordinary seal.

²⁶ *Glyptique orientale*, Part II, p. 119.

of the Hittites was for many centuries on the borders of the Assyrian domain. The Hittite art was certainly not despicable, for the Kings of Assyria did not hesitate to borrow from it. From this mingling of cultures there may have resulted hybrid works in which we should expect to find, neither beauty of execution nor breadth of conception, but, at most, a vague reminiscence of the most characteristic traits of the two nations.

Cylinder No. 10 (composition: h. 2.3, d. 1.0 cent.) is a very rudely executed work, and recalls certain of the cylinders found at Kourion.²⁷ Can it be the product of Kypriote art? It is difficult to say. There is nothing Assyrian or Chaldaean in the arrangement of the figures or of the animals, and, if we were tempted to attribute it to the Hittites, we should be obliged to allow that the conjecture rested on negative grounds, necessarily weak.

It is the same with *Cylinder No. 15* (hematite: h. 1.6, d. 0.8 cent.): though it has a more distinctive character, no more affirmative judgment can be given on it. Works of this nature must undergo serious study before it will be possible to definitely assign to them their proper place.

It remains to speak of the flat seals, of which two examples are given on our second plate (PL. VI, Nos. 17, 18). The use, in Assyria, of flat seals in the form of cones, pyramids, and spheroids is shown by a royal decree of the 26th day of the month Tebet of the year of Masallim-Assur (790 B. C.) which bears the impress of the royal seal. Their use was continued until the time of the Seleucidae and even later. The two seals in question may be assigned to the Great Empire of Assyria, to which belong many analogous works. The subjects engraved on them, on being compared with those of the Assyrian bas-reliefs, show that they should be attributed to the school of Kalah. On the first, No. 17 (carnelian: h. 1.7, w. 1.4 cent.), is a seated figure behind which is engraved an inscription, apparently in Phoenician letters. On the second, No. 18 (agate: h. 1.6, w. 1.2 cent.), is a priest adoring the sacred tree, above which is the symbol of the supreme Assyrian divinity.

The intaglios that have been described all belong either to the time of the Early Empire of Chaldea, or to that of the Great Empire of Assyria, and stop at one of the great periods in the history of

²⁷ L. DI CESNOLA, *Cyprus*, pl. XXXII, No. 21.

Western Asia. There are no specimens of the dynasty of the Sargonidæ, or of later periods. Still, the collection, specimens of which have here been examined, is a remarkable one. The magnificent cylinder of Marduk-zir-idin is of great rarity: we have examined it with the greatest interest, and have sought to place it in the light it deserves: and in bringing this study to a close we most sincerely congratulate its fortunate owner, who has afforded us the opportunity of examining it.

J. MÉNANT.

ROUEN, July 27, 1886.

NOTES ON ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES.

III. A GOD OF AGRICULTURE.

A god of agriculture has not, as yet, been fully recognized in the Babylonian pantheon. That there must have been a deity especially in charge of the productions of the field, is hardly to be questioned; though his rank may have been much lower than that of a god of war or of learning. The operations of plowing, sowing, irrigating and harvesting must have been carried on under the protection of some divinity, although the lists of the gods and the enumeration of



FIG. 28.—*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

their attributes found on the inscribed monuments do not give very definite information on this subject.

The two gods whose attributes and functions most relate them to agriculture are Raman (Bin) and the older Bel of Nippur. Raman is the god not only of the air and of storms, but also of the fertilizing canals. He bears, among other names, those of distributor of abundance, chief benefactor, god of fruitfulness. The ancient Bel of Babylonian mythology, not Bel Merodach (Marduk) of Babylon, was lord of the surface of the earth, and of the affairs of men; and agriculture, as well as other occupations of man, may well have been under the care of this active divinity.

Agricultural occupations are represented on a very few of the Babylonian seal-cylinders. The care of sheep and goats seems to be

represented, among other things, on two seals published by me in this Journal (vol. II, pp. 46-48). But, comparatively, very few scenes of common life are represented on these interesting objects: for the most part they have mythological subjects, gods, heroes, and worshippers. I do not know of any representation of a god of agriculture on any seal hitherto published.

One seal in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (*fig. 28*) gives the operation of plowing. I reproduce it from Lajard's *Culte de Mithra* (pl. XXXIV, No. 15), and it is also given in Ménant's *Pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie* (vol. I, p. 205). I give it for the purpose of comparing the plow, held by the plowman and drawn by two oxen, with the plow as found on three other seals in my possession (*figs. 29, 30, 31*), which are, fortunately, mythological in their character.



FIG. 29.—*From the Wolfe expedition.*

Figure 29 represents a large cylinder of serpentine (3.4 by 2.4 cent.) with the concave outline found only in the oldest of these seals. It is in a fine state of preservation, uncommon in seals of this soft material. It represents a seated deity, with stalks of wheat rising from his shoulders, holding wheat in his right hand. In front of him is a worshipper with both hands extended in supplication toward the deity. Then follows a second worshipper bearing a plow, which is very clearly drawn, showing the construction of the share and of the jointed beam. A third personage follows, with stalks of wheat in his hand and radiating from his body. All four figures have long beards and wear caps, apparently horned. The robe of the deity is arranged in the parallel horizontal plaits so often seen, leaving the right arm exposed; while the robes of the worshippers (which apparently consist of only a skirt) fall in vertical folds, and are held at the waist by a sash whose ends fall behind.

With this seal should be compared another in my collection (*fig. 30*), of green jasper, somewhat smaller (2.9 by 1.7 centim.) and with concave surface, but unfortunately so broken away as to destroy the larger part of its three lines of archaic inscription. Here, again, is a seated divinity, with wheat coming from his shoulders, and with wheat in his right hand. If there were any doubt about the wheat in *figure 29*, the beard at the end of the ears in *figure 30* would remove it. Before the deity is a stand, or altar, and on it a dish and perhaps a bird : then comes a figure holding a plow by the handles. He seems to have left his gifts (a bird (?), cakes (?) and a drink-offering) on the altar, and to have returned to his plowing, while the deity looks on benevolently, holding out the emblem of prosperity. Then follow the three lines of inscription, of a very old style, too nearly lost by the fracture to be legible. I am not sure that the



FIG. 30.—*From the Wolfe expedition.*

seated deity is not a goddess : the female counterpart of the god on *figure 29*.

It is not easy to say what deity is represented by this god of the wheat-field. It is too much to identify him with either Raman or Bel, though it is difficult to say what other god would be suggested. It is a matter for question, whether another not uncommon representation of a god with waving rays proceeding from the shoulders, which also suggest wings, is this same god with the wheat about him. He often appears in connection with an attendant opening a door, and is sometimes figured with a low mound (mountain ?) on each side of him. Cf. Ménant, *Pierres gravées*, vol. I, figs. 67, 68, 69, 71, 72. George Smith, in his *Chaldaean Genesis*, makes the untenable suggestion, that these seals represent the building of the tower of Babel.

One is reminded, by this god of wheat, of the Hittite representation of the god Samdan (?) at Ibriz (W. M. Ramsay, *Archäol. Zeitung*,

1885, No. 3, pl. 13). He is represented as bedecked with clusters of grapes, and holding in his hand a bunch of wheat.

Another seal in my possession, if it does not belong to this series, yet cannot be overlooked in the study of a deity or deities of agriculture. It is represented in *figure 31*. The seal is of a rich dark-blue lapis lazuli, and is perfect, except for the ordinary spots of iron pyrites and a slight flaking of the stone in front of the god. Its size is 2.7 by 1.5 centimetres. The deity is not the seated god we have figured above, but a god whom the cylinders represent a hundred times, robed in a loose open garment extending below the knee, and with his right leg bare and lifted up, the foot resting on a stool, or prominence. He is bearded, has the head covered with the horned cap, and holds in his left hand a sceptre, or baton, adorned at the end with a figure not easy to recognize. In his right hand he carries a plow, holding it



FIG. 31.—*From the Wolfe expedition.*

by the beam. I know of no other instance in which this very familiar deity, or any other, in fact, is represented as holding a plow. I assume this to be the same deity as usually appears in this attitude, as it is natural to believe that each deity would have a conventional representation, which would be varied only in minor details.¹ His dress is always the same, his foot is always raised and often rests on an animal,—a bull, a lion, or an ibex, or even a sphinx: he sometimes leads a bull by a rope, and sometimes holds in his hand a small long-tailed animal. More frequently he holds in his hand what appears to be a sharply notched knife, but which may be a club set with flints, like a certain ancient Mexican weapon, or possibly a palm-branch.

¹ He is seen in Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, figs. 29, 44, 45, 49, 52–55, etc.; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, xxxviii, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, etc.; De Clercq, *Catalogue raisonné*, figs. 152–157, 159, 160, 163–175; Ménant, *Glyptique orientale*, pl. iv, 3–6 and pp. 163–5, where the female form of this deity seems to be figured.

Often he holds an object which has been called a thunderbolt, forked into two zigzag branches. Sometimes he holds the scimitar-like weapon which Bel uses against Tihamat. In front of him is generally seen the worshipper bearing a victim, although the worshipper with a victim often appears before a seated divinity. On account of the "thunderbolt" he has been identified by Lenormant and Sayce with Raman (Bin); and the plow which he holds, in the seal here figured, would be appropriate to Raman. I doubt very much that he can be identical with the seated god in the other seals here figured. In front of the deity, on the seal we are now considering, are seen three upright objects, which appear to be altars, with the crescent above them. A worshipper is pouring an oblation upon them, and behind him is a



FIG. 32.—*Collection de Clercq.*

second worshipper, or an attendant. The inscription, which is in two lines, Mr. Pinches kindly reads for me, as follows :

"A-mur(or A-hi)-Shamash,
sis(ahu)-da-gi."

The first line gives the owner's name, Amur-Shamash (*i. e.* "I have seen the sun-god"), while the second perhaps gives his occupation, in Akkadian. Mr. Pinches would date it about 1800 B. C.

Since the above was written, I have received the second *livraison* of the Catalogue of De Clercq's magnificent collection of more than four hundred Babylonian and other cylinders. Among them is one (*Collection de Clercq*, No. 140) which belongs to the same type as figs. 29, 30, representing a god of agriculture, although the plough is not given. We reproduce it in figure 32. The deity holds in his right hand a stalk of some kind of grain, apparently the seven-rowed (Egyptian) wheat,—the same as in the hand of the Hittite god at

Ibriz,—and a stalk of the same grain rises from each shoulder. The worshipper before him has two stalks of wheat rising from his head-dress, a stalk of wheat from each shoulder, and a branch of some other plant (dates?) from his waist. At his feet, on one side is a bunch of three stalks of wheat, and on the other a branch, perhaps of dates. The significance of the other two large figures is not apparent; but the small figure behind them is probably that of the owner of the seal. The name of the owner, as read by Oppert, is *Dada, the measurer*; which may imply that the owner of the seal was engaged in the business of measuring the grain and fruit collected as taxes, or sold.

WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

A DORIC SHAFT AND BASE FOUND AT ASSOS.

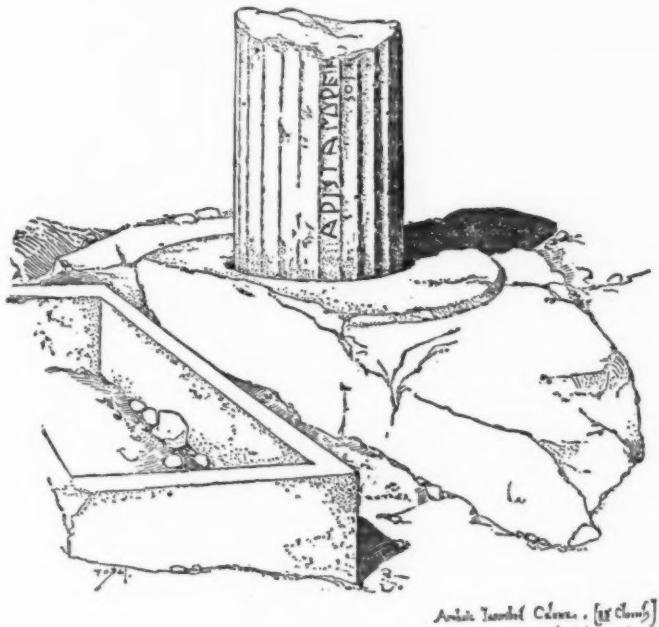


FIG. 33.

One of the most interesting monuments unearthed in the Nekropolis of Assos is the stump of an archaic Doric shaft: the only known example of a column of that order provided with an Egyptian base.¹

¹ It is to be observed that the Attic bases of late form, which appear in the engraving of the two extremely ancient Doric columns found on the Akropolis of Athens (published by Ludwig Ross in vol. XIII of the *Annali dell' Instituto*, Roma, 1841, tav. c) do not belong to these shafts, but were added through an error, explained in the letter-press. As these columns were free-standing, they were,

Its relation to the earliest development of Greek architecture makes it a striking parallel to the proto-Ionic capital from Neandreia.² Both are important illustrations of the methods by which the Greeks simplified and improved architectural details derived from older civilizations. Each is a link in a long chain, and hence the presentation of each requires that more attention be devoted to the adjoining links, to the antique remains of similar character, than is possible in the narrow limits of a Report on the excavation of one site. The writer trusts that this consideration may be held to justify the separate publication of these results of the exploration of Assos and the southern Troad, undertaken by the Archaeological Institute of America.

The column shown in figure 33 was found during the digging of the second year (1882). It stood by the side of the main road which led through the burial-ground from the principal western gate of the

city, and was distant about 130 metres from the fortifications. At this point, the native rock rises almost vertically, having been fully 1.2 m. above the pavement of the ancient street which passed close to it. When found, the column was but little below the surface of the accumulated earth. The rock was here levelled and cut

to a broad base, in the centre of which was sunk a deep socket of the same plan as the lower diameter of the shaft (fig. 34). Into this the column was inserted, and set by a lead casting. A considerable part of this lead had been picked away by despoilers before being covered by the accumulating débris, and it is fortunate that the stone itself had not been entirely shattered in order to get at the six or eight pounds of metal which remained around and beneath it. Among the ruins of

without doubt, originally provided with bases; but at all events these members have not been found.

The only Greek Doric base known to the writer has little or no bearing upon the development of the style: it is that of the Column of the Naxians at Delphi, discovered and published by M. P. Foucart in his *Mémoire sur les ruines et l'histoire de Delphes; Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires: Deux. Série, vol. II*: Paris, 1865.

² J. T. Clarke, *A proto-Ionic Capital from the site of Neandreia*, in the *Amer. Journal of Archaeology*, vol. II, pp. 20, 136.

* More exact measurements are given on the following page, in the text.

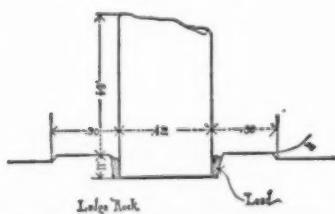


FIG. 34.—Section of the Doric shaft and base.*

Assos those stones still exposed above-ground which were united by iron cramps have, almost without exception, been broken by the sledge-hammer, the employment of which for the purpose of obtaining such lead castings is familiar to the wandering gypsy-smiths in Asia Minor. So securely was the column attached to the bed rock that, although it is beyond question the oldest of all the monuments discovered in the Nekropolis, it is the only one which has not been overthrown. The shaft was irregularly broken off at a height of about 0.65 m. from its base. No remains of the upper part were brought to light by the further excavations in the vicinity.

During the Roman dominion, a segment of the base was cut away to make room for a monolithic sarcophagus,³ the approximate date of which is evident from its having contained, together with crumbling bones, the sherds of a vessel of red pottery ornamented with figures in relief,—the well-known Samian ware. This sarcophagus was buried beneath the surface of the earth, no respect being paid to the integrity of the column, which must, at that time, have been at least five hundred years old. The remaining part of the base, although much worn and fractured, shows the stone-cutting to have been careful and accurate: the bevelled edge is perfectly regular, and the distance from its upper circumference to the arrises of the shaft is on all sides exactly 0.298 m. The lower diameter of the base is 1.06 m.; its height 0.034 m.

The shaft is 0.425 m. in diameter. The stone of which it is cut is the same andesite as the bed rock. The resistance of this material to weathering depends greatly upon the stratum from which it is quarried, and the degree of exposure to the elements. Thus, some of the stones of the lower wall of the great eastern gate, which probably dates from the fourth century, having been subjected to the percolation of water since the time of the Turkish occupation, may be easily crumbled with the finger nail. The archaic column, on the other hand, has hardly been weathered at all: its arrises are perfectly sharp, and the letters engraved upon it as legible as when first cut. The channels, of an approximately segmental plan, are twenty-five in number. Their extreme shallowness, like the slight elevation of the base cut upon the bed rock, is sufficiently accounted for by the difficulty of

³ No. 76 of the list and general plan which will be given in the second Report on the Excavations at Assos.

working this exceedingly hard and gritty stone. Recent experiments made upon the andesite of Assos by a lapidary, under the supervision of the writer, have shown it to be one of the most intractable materials ever chosen for architectural details.

The number of the channels, unique among the remains of antiquity, is to be explained by the entirely isolated position of the column. As it stood in no relation to the axes of a building, it was not absolutely necessary to make the number of channels divisible by four,⁴ or even the opposite sides of the column symmetrical,⁵ and the channels consequently of even number. Within these limitations, the subsequent usage of the Greeks in channelling their columns seems to have been determined solely by considerations based upon the absolute size of the shafts, and the distance from which they were generally to be seen. The simile of Aristotle, in his *Ethics*,⁶ from which is derived our knowledge of the technical term employed for this detail, clearly shows that the *rhabdosis* was regarded by the architect, not as an independent feature of the design,⁷ but

* All the multiples of four, from sixteen to thirty-two, appear in the buildings of Greece. Twenty-eight and thirty-two channels are, however, exceedingly rare: the former number being known to the writer only by the fragment of a Doric column found by him among the foundation stones of the theatre of Ephesos; the latter only by two Doric drums on the island of Samos, which have been described by L. Ross, in his *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des aegaeischen Meeres*: Stuttgart, 1840-43. These last were seen and measured by the present writer in 1879. They had then been removed from their former position and built into the wall of a vineyard. An approximate diameter is 1.04 m., showing that the building to which they belonged was of considerable size: at least half as large again as, for instance, the chief temple of Assos.

⁵ Eighteen channels (the only number not a multiple of four known to have been employed by the Greeks) are to be observed in the pronaos of the temple of Assos. The peculiar considerations which led to the adoption of this number have been set forth in the *Report on the investigations at Assos, 1881*: Boston, 1882, p. 89.

⁶ *Ethika Nikom.* x. 4. 2. The commentary upon this passage, attributed to Eustratios, betrays a want of understanding of the word Ράβδωσις, which is explained: τὴν κατὰ μῆκος πτήξιν, ἥτις γίνεται, διαν πρὸς ὅρθας γυνίας ἱεργατα. Still, it is not surprising that a Byzantine ecclesiastic of the twelfth century should have been wholly unacquainted with the details of antique architecture, and have supposed that the *rhabdosis* signified the erection of the column to a position exactly vertical.

⁷ Certain writers on Greek architecture fancifully assume this striation of the shaft to have been derived from, or at least to be analogous to, the ribbed stems of umbelliferous plants, notably the *Heracleum silphium narthes* (K. Bötticher, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen*: Ed. 2: Berlin, 1874, vol. i); or the cracked bark of the trunks of trees (P. F. Krell, *Geschichte des dorischen Styls*; Stuttgart, 1870: and many

simply in its relation to the general effect of the building.⁸ The number of channels is thus no indication of age, as has been so often assumed. For instance, the columns of the archaic temple of Korinth, of large dimensions and situated in the plain, have twenty channels; while the small shafts of the interior of the temple of Aigina have only sixteen, as have also those of the much more recent temple of Sunion, which stand upon the narrow summit of an eminence, forming a landmark for mariners doubling the cape. All the instances of sixteen-channelled shafts, which are exceptions to the general usage, are to be explained by these considerations. The best parallel to the memberment of the Assos column is presented by the forty-four channels of that of the Naxians at Delphi (cf. Note 1), both intended to be seen from immediate proximity. It is evident, however, that, at the time when the Assos monument was erected, the practice of channelling had not been reduced to the system which rendered the Doric columns of later ages so regular in detail, but, frequently, so mechanical and uninteresting. The artistic effect of channelling a cylindrical shaft, thus emphasizing the line of support, had undoubt-

others). But that the Greeks attached no symbolical significance, no peculiarly architectural character even, to the channelling, is evident from the employment of the adjective 'παβλωρός for any striation,—such as the furrows of sea-shells (Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* iv. 4, 3), the ribbed ornamentation of drinking-vessels (Polemon in Athenaios, xl. 67), and even the stripes of garments (Xenophon, *Kyr.* viii. 3, 16).

* In the fourth chapter of the tenth book of the Nikomachean Ethics, Aristotle reviews his analysis of pleasure, and by the synthetical method determines its definitions. He explains that it is something complete in itself; not something gradually attained, but a consciousness of perfection which is independent of the condition of time. Hence, pleasure is not motion, inasmuch as this requires time, and presupposes some higher end, being thus, in itself, incomplete. This he illustrates by a comparison with architecture, which is perfect when it has produced that at which it ultimately aims, while its separate processes are imperfect, and differ entirely from each other. In specifying the details of the building of a temple, and in explaining the differences observable between them, he says: ὃ γὰρ τὸν λίθον σύνθεσις ἔτρέπα τῆς τοῦ κιονος βαβδώσεως, καὶ αὐται τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ ποιήσεως. Did the great philosopher intend, in thus contrasting the fitting together of the stones with the channelling of the column, to illustrate also the distinction which is to be made between the mechanical juncture of the drums, on the one hand, and their incorporation into an aesthetic unity by this architectural expedient, on the other? He probably did not. The marked distinction which is to be made between these two processes may have led to the instinctive choice of them as similes; but it is plain from the details of the construction subsequently adduced,—namely the entirely unrelated krepis and triglyph,—that this idea was not definitely present in his mind. Such aesthetic subtleties would be less natural to the ancient Greeks than, let us say, to the modern Germans.

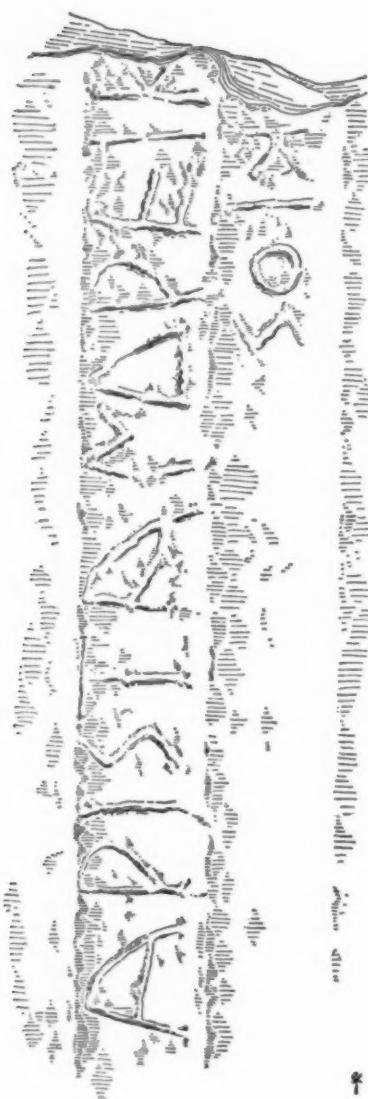


FIG. 35.—*Inscription on the Doric shaft.*

edly been observed by the primitive stone-cutter upon other columns, and imitated by him in a perfectly natural manner. He divided the circumference with a unit of measurement determined in entire independence of the axes. This proved to adjust itself most readily to twenty-five divisions of equal width; and the separating lines were cut as arrises,—no attention being paid to the odd number, or to the want of that symmetry which results from a correspondence of the channels to one or two parallel faces. From this peculiarity of the channelling, it is to be inferred that the abacus of the capital was not of a square but of a round plan, as is the case with the archaic columns found on the Akropolis of Athens (cf. Note 1).

There does not remain enough of the shaft to prove with certainty the apparent lack of an entasis. This refinement could hardly be expected, as the columns of the chief temple of Assos itself, though certainly of much later date, are straight-lined. Moreover, the small monument was

not exposed to be seen from a standpoint much below its base; there was thus little or no optical illusion, and consequent need of a correction of this kind.

The great age of the shaft (evident also from architectural considerations) is certified by an archaic inscription engraved in two of the channels (*fig. 35*). This inscription has been published by Dr. Sterrett,⁹ who assigns it to the sixth century, and reads: APIΣTANΔPEΙ[A?]. The last letter of the first line is, however, undoubtedly K. Professor Ramsay¹⁰ hence suggested *'Αριστανδρη ο[ντος] ιχθύοις* ; but, owing to the improbability of this Ionic form occurring at Aiolic Assos, has since, with the writer, preferred *'Αριστανδρη Ιχθύοις*; *exempli gratia, Ἰχθύοις*. This last reading has great weight of probability. Epitaph inscriptions not unfrequently began with the vocative; and, while neither of the feminine forms have been known to occur, no less than six men by the name of Aristandros are known from antiquity, the chief among these being Asiatics and Islanders. Furthermore, although of course not impossible, it would have been entirely exceptional, among the remains of Assos, for so prominent a monument to have been dedicated alone, or, in the first word, to a woman. The lines are *boustrophedon*. Of the second only the termination KIOΞ remains. The low position of these letters upon the stone (beginning 0.11 m. from the base) warrants the assumption that the inscription extended at least above the middle of the column. It would have been quite as easy to read letters engraved even at a height of two metres, as those near the bottom of the shaft; and the most natural method of inscribing the epitaph would be to extend the words along the greater length of the channel. That this was the usual relation is apparent from the noted inscription upon the *Colonna Nania*,¹¹ and from that upon the round

⁹ J. R. S. Sterrett, *Inscriptions of Assos. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*. Boston, 1885.

¹⁰ W. M. Ramsay, *Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor*. vi. *The Inscriptions of Assos*, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 1. 2. Baltimore, 1885.

¹¹ Chief among the free-standing votive columns known is the archaic *Colonna Nania*, from the Island of Melos: first described and engraved by G. F. Zanetti, *Due antichissime grecche iscrizioni*, Venezia, 1755; and since often republished, appearing in the *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* vol. I, no. 3. Neither the capital nor the base of this column have been found, but apophyses at either end of the shaft prove the original existence of both. The celebrated inscription, occupying three-quarters of the total length, is engraved in two of the channels.

stele found by Finlay on the island of Aigina.¹² It is hence to be assumed that we have recovered less than one-eighth of the inscription,—even supposing it to have been restricted to two channels. No importance is however to be attached to this, beyond the consideration that an inscription of such length must have contained more than the name and patronymic of a single individual, which are all that appear upon the other tombstones of the Nekropolis.

The indications to be derived from the length of the inscription; from its commencing with the vocative; and, above all, from the situation of the column directly upon the native rock (so that no bodies could have been buried beneath it, as beneath every other sepulchral monument found at Assos); give some weight to the supposition that the column may have been erected, and the epitaph inscribed, as a memorial to a number of persons whose bodies had not been recovered for sepulture: persons, for instance, who may have been lost at sea, or have fallen in battle, and were thus honored by their relatives or by the Demos. Such were many of the sepulchral steles of the ancients. ‘Ο τύμβος οὗτος ἐνδον οὐκ ἔχει νεκρόν. (*Anthol. Palat.* VII. 311). Epitaphs of this kind have been preserved in great number in the *Anthology*.¹³ Still, it must be admitted that enough does not remain of the Assos column to seriously argue that we have here to deal with a cenotaph. The side of the stone bearing the inscription has been broken away fully ten centimetres lower than the rest, as if wantonly mutilated. With a few more letters its significance would have been clear.

The original height of the shaft in proportion to its diameter was without doubt considerably greater than was customary in the functional supports of the style. A comparison with the archaic free-standing columns hitherto known (among which, besides the *Colonna Nania* and the above-mentioned two archaic columns found upon the Akropolis of Athens, is a Doric shaft standing in the Athenian ceme-

¹² This archaic shaft, unchanneled and with a dedicatory inscription, engraved in four lines along almost its entire length, was first published by W. M. Leake, *On an inscription found in Aigina*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. II, xx: London, 1834. It was subsequently redrawn for the *Expedition scientifique de Morée*: Paris, 1831 etc., vol. III, pl. 46. The inscription is given in the *C. I. G.*, vol. II, appendix 2138, d.

¹³ *Anthol. Palat.* VII. 74, 272, 273, 274, 397, and others. The first of these was written upon the monument erected by the Magnesians above the empty tomb of Themistokles. Cf. Plutarch, *Themist.* xxxii. 4.

tery before the *Dipylon*¹⁴) leads to the assumption of a height of about six and a half diameters,¹⁵ or two metres and three-quarters. This estimate can hardly involve an error greater than 0.2m. A column of this height would have just sufficed to elevate an *agalma* above the reach of passers-by. It is clear that this was the purpose of the support. Upon vases, reliefs and coins, too numerous to be specified, free-standing shafts are represented, upholding an image, a vase, or other votive offering; these being generally of a symbolic character, as, for instance, the two cocks significant of the palaistra, the Nikes, or the owls of Athena, seen on almost all the Panathenaic vases. The two well-known columns with triangular capitals, standing on the side of the Akropolis of Athens, above the theatre of Dionysos, supported tripods.¹⁶

During the earliest ages, diminutive columns, generally of the Doric style, were employed to uphold the *lepaiai Παρθένοι*.¹⁷ But the most

¹⁴ The only free-standing shaft erected as a sepulchral monument that has hitherto been known, is a Doric column elevated upon a round pedestal, and still standing in the cemetery before the *Dipylon* of Athens,—inadequately published, without illustration, by A. S. Rhousopoulos in the *Ἐργατικὴ τῶν Φιλομαθῶν, Ἀθηνῶν*, 1870, No. 739; and by R. Schöll in the *Bullettino dell' Instituto*, Roma, 1870, No. XIII. These accounts disagree in important particulars: the former, for instance, stating that the upper and lower circumference of the shaft are respectively 0.88 m. and 1.0 m.; while the latter affirms the shaft to be *senza la solita reduzione*. The writer, who has himself examined the monument, is indebted to Dr. Sterrett for a drawing of the lower part of the shaft and of its peculiar support.

This column is of interest in the present consideration, from the fact that it stands, not upon a true base, but upon a round pedestal with terminal and socle mouldings. Nevertheless, as the monument is some two or three hundred years more recent than that of Assos, and consequently belongs to a period when the art of Greece was in its decline, and when the archaic and primitive features of the leading styles had been forgotten, it naturally cannot be compared, in historical significance, with the column of the sixth century from provincial Assos.

¹⁵ This is a weighted average of all the examples known, and closely agrees with the proportions of the column in the Athenian cemetery. This last monument, the best parallel in this respect, is stated by Rhousopoulos to have been 2.03 m. high, with a lower circumference of 1.0, and a base 0.33 m. high. Schöll assigns to it a total height of 2.34 m.

¹⁶ E. D. Clarke, *Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*: Cambridge, 1810-23, vol. II, part 2. Also C. I. G. No. 227 b. Many representations of tripods supported upon columns appear upon vases and reliefs; a number of these have been collected by F. Wieseler, *Das Satyrspiel*, in the *Göttinger Studien, zweite Abtheilung*: Göttingen, 1847.

¹⁷ This is proved by Ross, *Berichte von den Ausgrabungen auf der Akropolis von Athen*, in his *Archäologische Aufsätze*: Leipzig, 1855-61. The inscriptions of the *Colonna*

striking parallel to the sepulchral column of Assos is supplied by the descriptions of the famous tomb of the orator Isokrates, erected near the Kynosarges. This was a round column (*κίον*)¹⁸ surmounted by the figure of a siren.¹⁹ The dimensions of the shaft and of the statue (respectively thirty and seven cubits), though much greater than those of the Assos column, and, indeed, exceptional during all Greek antiquity, agree with the representations of such monuments; and may serve to give an idea of the customary proportion between the support and the *agalma*. The loss of the capital of the column at Assos is to be regretted, not only on account of its independent archi-

Nania, the two archaic shafts from the Akropolis of Athens, and the round stele from the island of Aigina, before mentioned, all refer to the dedication of the votive offerings which were placed upon these supports. The same is true of the inscription in three of the flutes of the drum of an Ionic column from the Peloponnesos, given by P. M. Paciaudi, *Monumenta Peloponnesia*, Romae, 1761, vol. I; and reprinted in the *C. I. G.* No. 24.

¹⁸ Before the employment of stone columns in the temple architecture of Greece, the word *κίον* designated the great posts of wood which served as the supports of the timbered ceilings. In later times it was restricted, by common usage, to shafts of round plan, while the word *στήλη* signified a square, free-standing pillar. The exceptions prove this rule. Careful writers, when using either of these terms in a sense different from that usually attached to it, qualify it by an adjective. Thus, Plutarch (*Aem. Paul.* xxviii) speaks of a *κίον τερπάγωνος*, while the obelisk in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, being too large to be termed a stele, is called *κίον τετράπλευρος* (*Anthol. Palat.* ix. 682). A small round cippus, probably without a capital, is called *στήλη περιφέρης* by Pausanias (II. 12. 5). The exact determination of the use of these words is a point of great importance in the study of ancient architecture.

The learned authors of Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon (seventh edition, 1883) remark, in their definition of *κίον*, that the word is "expressly distinguished from *στήλη*" by Androkides (VI. 15). The passage in question throws, however, no light whatever upon the distinguishing differences between these two kinds of shafts. The orator merely relates that Diokleides, while witnessing the mutilation of the hermae, stood between a certain column and a certain stele.

¹⁹ Plutarch, *Vita decem rhet.* IV. 25. The same statements concerning the column are made by the ancient author of the anonymous life of Isokrates (II. 96., ed. Westermann). Philostratos (*Vitae sophist.* I. 17. 1) in describing this monument uses only the general term *σήμα*.

A siren was placed also above the tomb of Sokrates (Anonymous *Vita Soph.* I. 74, ed. Westermann), above that of the poetess Baukis (Erienna, frag. 5; Bergk, *Poet. lyr.* ed. 1876, p. 927,—from *Anthol. Palat.* VII. 710), and above that of Kleo (Mnasalkas, frag. 17, from *Anthol. Palat.* VII. 491). Alexander, as is well known, erected statues of sirens upon the funeral pyre of Hephaestion (Diodoros, XVII. 115. 4). Images of sirens, placed upon the summit of free-standing columns and steles, are frequently shown by vase-paintings and other representations.

tectural significance, but because the dowel-holes upon its abacus would undoubtedly have given some indications of the nature of the image which it supported.

Architectural history has long led to the conclusion that the characteristic features of the Doric shaft were derived by the Greeks from the banks of the Nile. Since its demonstration, through the first adequate surveys of the monuments of ancient Egyptian architecture, no valid objection has been raised against this derivation, of which the present discovery may be considered a direct proof.

So striking is the resemblance of the channelled shafts of Egypt to those of Greece, that Jomard,²⁰ who first called attention to the proto-Doric character of the columns of Beni Hassan, felt it necessary to explain that they could not have been the work of Hellenic architects. In the supports of the rock-cut tombs of Beni Hassan, and in those found among the ruins of Calabsheh, Amada and other places, there is to be recognized a fixed architectural system, evidently determined by long practice, and, with but slight variations, adopted throughout Egypt as an established order. The columns of the first-named monuments may be considered as typical of this formation, not inaptly termed by Lepsius *l'ordre des colonnes-piliers*.²¹

The manner in which the number of channels was determined is made evident by the existence, almost side by side, of supports illustrating the various stages of development. The multiplication of the facets was brought about by chamfering the corners of a square pier, which was thus transformed into an eight-sided, and, when the process was repeated, into a sixteen-sided shaft. It was found, however, that the column of sixteen-sided polygonal plan had angles much too obtuse to give the desirable play of light and shade, and the natural expedient of grooving the narrow facets was hence adopted, the edges being sharpened into arrises, and the surfaces becoming channels.²² A portion of the original square pier was left

²⁰ *Description de l'Egypte*: Paris, 1821, vol. IV.

²¹ K. R. Lepsius, *Sur l'ordre des colonnes-piliers en Égypte*, in the *Annali dell' Instituto*, vol. IX, Rome, 1838.

²² The argument of Semper (*Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten*, 2d. ed., München 1878), that the channels of the Doric column resulted from an imitation of long strips of metal soldered together around a core of wood, appears inadmissible; and his remark: "the number of the channels increases in exact proportion with the absolute dimensions of the shaft, inasmuch as the grooving of the strips is dependent solely upon the character and thickness of the metal" (vol. II,

at the top, as an abacus ; while the shaft was provided with a broad and flat base, projecting far beyond the lower diameter of the column. This sixteen-sided, channelled support was in general use during the twelfth dynasty, which is held by Mariette to have ruled during the twenty-ninth century B. C., and, even according to the calculations of Lepsius which place it at the latest possible date, was still some thousand years before the Trojan war.

It is not here necessary to bring forward proofs of the intimate connection of the Greeks with the inhabitants of Egypt, especially after the seventh century B. C., the period when the most important advances were being made in Hellenic architecture. The researches of modern Egyptologists have shown that, after the age of Psammetichos, no great work of the Egyptians could have remained unknown to the Greeks. The Egyptians had been, for centuries, the greatest masters in the art of stone-cutting which the world has known, while in this branch the Greeks had then everything to learn. The tradition that squared stones were first employed in Greece by the Phoenician Kadmos while building the walls of Boiotian Thebes,²³ is a reminiscence of this influence. The Egyptian origin of many of the methods of quarrying, cutting and lifting large blocks of stone, in use among the Greeks, becomes more and more certain as our acquaintance with the architectural remains of these countries increases. To take one instance among many : the peculiar method of employing the lewis, observable in early Hellenic buildings (witness the temple of Assos), is the same as that which appears upon Egyptian reliefs, and is recognizable among the débris of Egyptian quarries.

Thus, in the design and execution of stone supports, the architects of Greece, after the seventh century, had no need to make independent experiments. It was not necessary for them to pass through a development corresponding to that displayed by the square pier, the eight-sided, the sixteen-sided, and the channelled shafts of Beni Hassan. It is not probable that the octagonal shafts found at Troizen²⁴

p. 380) : is sufficiently disproved by the many channels of the small columns of Delphi and Assos. Indeed Semper, while so clearly setting forth the development of the Ionic capital, is most unsatisfactory and contradictory in his account of the derivation of the forms of the Doric column : even going so far as to assume the supports of Beni Hassan to be either archaic or debased (vol. I, p. 392), and to doubt the truth of there having been any historical connection between the primitive architectural styles of Egypt and Greece (vol. II, p. 382).

²³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII. 57. 5.

²⁴ W. Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea* : London, 1817.

and the drums of the same plan from Bolymnos²⁵ antedate the introduction of the Egyptian proto-Doric column, in the same way as do the well-known supports of the Tholos of Atreus and that shown on the relief of the Gate of the Lions at Mykenai. Pausanias (II. 31. 6) speaks of a temple at Troizen as one of the most ancient which he saw in Greece. But this passage, written during the second century A. D., though it certainly attests the great relative age of the building in question, can by no means be taken as an evidence that these columns, the very identity of which is not assured, are older than the seventh century B. C., and consequently could not owe the peculiarity for which they are remarkable to an imitation of the architectural details of Egypt. The shape of the columns of Troizen and Bolymnos, sufficiently common in Egypt, is rather to be taken as an indication that the designers of the earliest stone temples of Greece were uncertain which to choose among the three varieties of supports presented by the tombs of Beni Hassan. Were it nevertheless to be assumed that these archaic Greek monuments display no foreign influences whatever, the appearance of octagonal pillars in connection with them would, of itself, by no means suffice to prove that an independent Hellenic development determined all the features of the Doric column, which was of such marvellous perfection even in the most ancient and most primitive temples of the style. Moreover, the twenty-five channels of the shaft found at Assos make it extremely improbable that the sixteen-fold striation had been independently developed by the Greeks. As has already been mentioned, the irregular number shows that the stone-cutter imitated, from some model, the general effect of channelling, without understanding the significant artistic traditions which were so clearly pronounced and so invariably maintained in Egypt, where this model originated in that treatment of the facets first devised to sharpen the angles of the sixteen-sided prism which had resulted from chamfering the corners of a square pier. Had the Assos column been the direct outcome of the evolution which determined the order of the pier-columns, it would, in all probability, like them have presented a number of channels divisible by four.

How closely the Egyptian base was imitated, will be made plain

²⁵ L. Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland*. Vol. I. *Reisen im Peloponnes*. Berlin, 1841. Neither the remains from Troizen (Damala) nor those from Bolymnos have ever been drawn. Excavations at these ancient sites are greatly to be desired.

by a comparison of the stump found in the Nekropolis of Assos (*fig. 36, A*) with one of the interior shafts of the north-western tomb of Beni Hassan²⁶ (*fig. 36, B*), drawn with the old-fashioned *modulus* on the same scale. For such free-standing columns the channelled shaft and the broad base of Egypt were admirably fitted. These features were probably adopted, without essential change, throughout Greece. But, with the employment of the base in the functional supports of a

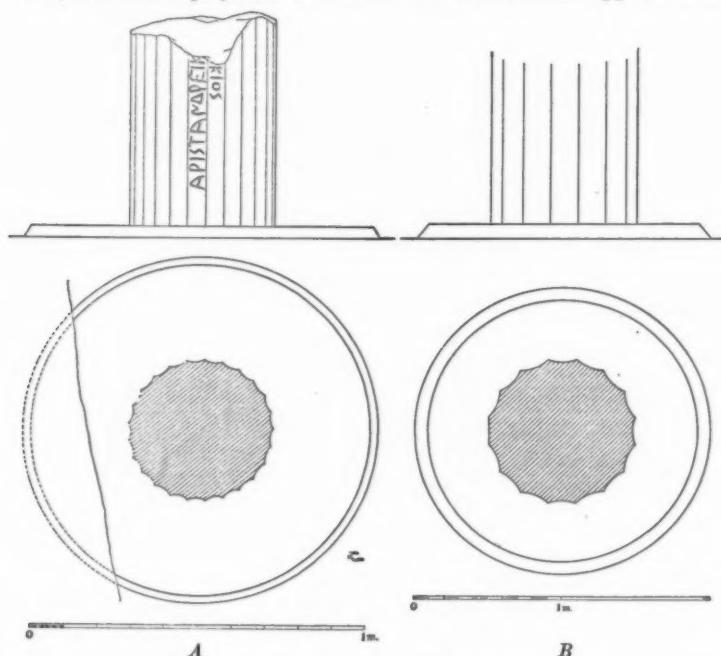


FIG. 36.—*A*, plan and elevation of the Doric shaft and base at Assos.
B, plan and elevation of a shaft and base from a tomb at Beni Hassan, Egypt.

²⁶ The measurements adopted for this illustration have been taken from the monograph of Lepsius, quoted above. That publication was based, in regard to the details in question, not only upon the previous surveys of Beni Hassan made by the French expedition, by Rosellini (*I Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia*: Pisa, 1832-44), and by Wilkinson (*The Architecture of ancient Egypt*: London, 1850, pl. 2), but also upon the inedited drawings of a Russian architect, M. Jefimoff. Lepsius makes, however, the curious error of placing the arris, not the channel, in the axis of the abacus; cf. pl. xxxv. That this is not correct is evident from the drawings given by other authors (instance Rosellini, *Atlas*, vol. II, pl. 3) and especially from photographs.

building (notably in connection with the plan of the primitive temple *in antis*), a practical disadvantage made itself felt; one so serious that, in avoiding it, the appearance of the column was entirely changed. This was the interference of the projecting plinths with the passage through the intercolumniation. The slight elevation of the bases of Beni Hassan, like that of the one found at Assos, is to be explained by the extreme difficulty of cutting this member from the native rock. It is evident that, when such a base was formed of a separate stone slab, this must have been made of much greater thickness in order to bear, without cracking, the weight placed upon it. The proportional thickness thus determined may, in the buildings of small dimensions customary during the earliest ages, be estimated to have fully equalled the height of the upper step of later Doric temples. This assumption is borne out by the oldest and most carefully drawn representation of archaic Doric structures, that upon the well-known François vase.²⁷ The buildings here shown (for instance the house of the goddess Thetis, which is characterized in every way as a temple) have Doric columns with bases of considerable projection: straight-edged like those of Egypt, but higher and unbevelled. That this base was held by the designer to be an indispensable and characteristic feature, is evident from its being repeated in all the scenes where Doric columns were introduced. Nor is such a member shown upon the François vase alone.²⁸ In the archaic art of Greece channelled columns are frequently, nay generally, represented as standing upon bases of rectilinear outline.²⁹

In the *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, 1849–59, vol. i), Lepsius ascribes somewhat different dimensions to this column; the projection of the base, from the shaft to the upper edge of the bevel, being scaled as 0.37 m.

²⁷ *Monumenti inediti*, vol. iv, Roma, 1844–48, pls. LIV, LV.

²⁸ Compare the important representation upon the vase referred to in Note 37: furthermore, the bases of the channelled Doric shafts shown in E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*; Berlin, 1839–58, vol. II, pl. 143; vol. IV, pl. 293; and, especially, pl. 281, Nos. 1, 2. The majority of the Panathenaic vases in the British Museum show Doric columns with bases.

²⁹ The wide distribution of such architectural forms throughout the ancient world is attested by the appearance, among the remains of Persian constructions referable to the age of Cyrus, of a base of precisely the same character as those of Beni Hassan, and as that now discovered at Assos. Compare the illustration published by M. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse; Achéménides, Parthes, Sassanides*: Paris, 1884, pl. XII and fig. 28. The materials as yet available for comparison do not suffice for us to decide with certainty whether this feature was derived by the well-trained architects of the Achaemenidae from the banks of the Nile, or from the coasts of

As illustrated in *figure 37*, the projecting stones, *aa*, would have greatly interfered with the passage. Such an obstruction had been no disadvantage before the closed tombs of Beni Hassan, but upon the threshold of the Hellenic temple it would have been intolerable. Nothing could be more natural than to fill out the narrow space between the sides of the bases, *b*, so connecting the separate blocks as to form a continuous plinth: *the common base of all the columns*. Thus originated the Doric stylobate. This would remain a mere hypothesis, but for the explicit testimony of those ancient authors who have defined this architectural term: the stylobate was the upper step alone.³⁰ And, what is still more to the point, it was in the Doric style, and in no other, that this character of a base was attached to the upper step.³¹



FIG. 37.

In the Ionic style the base, which, together with the capital, had been derived from Mesopotamia, consisted of mouldings. These roundels and scotias permitted great emphasis to be given to the member, its diameter being at the same time comparatively restricted. Hence, the projection of the Ionic base could never seriously interfere with the passage between the columns. In the Doric style, on the other hand, the principles of design were essentially different, and did not permit the introduction of curved lines of a contrary flexure in a member of such eminent importance to the constructive framework as the base. Moreover, the well-known tendency of the Doric, in

the Aegean. The gabled roof and archaic-Greek proportions of the tomb of Cyrus certainly favor the latter assumption.

³⁰ This is plain from the fact that the stylobate was considered requisite, even when the steps were transformed into a socle: Vitruvius, III. 4. 5. The Roman architect here evidently follows Hellenic traditions. Compare Hesychios, s. v. *κρηπίς*. The distinct character of the stylobate is especially apparent when, as in certain archaic temples of Sicily, it is of considerably greater height than the lower steps.

³¹ This all-important passage of Pollux (vii. 121) reads στυλοβάτης, ὁ τοῦ Δορικοῦ κίονος βάσις· σπείρα δὲ, ὁ τοῦ Ιωνικοῦ. Hesychios, s. v. *στυλοβάτης*, also attributes to the stylobate the character of a base.

contrast to the Ionic,³² was to merge all the constituent parts in an inseverable whole, depriving them, as far as possible, of their individual independence. The only way, in accordance with these principles, by which the straight-lined base could be retained in the temple *in antis* and in the peripteros, was so to unite the separate slabs as to form a continuous plinth. Thus was the channelled shaft of Egypt, together with its base, introduced into the architecture of Greece, and embodied with the native Doric entablature in a fabric of perfect unity.

In æsthetic respects, the ultimate criterion of all artistic development, the creation of the stylobate was decidedly advantageous. The peripteral temple was to the Greeks an *anathema*, a votive offering to the deity. This was hereby elevated upon a single base, upon a consecrated floor, which isolated the fane even from the surrounding steps and the pavement of the temenos. Notwithstanding the fact that the stylobate, at least in later times, seems to have been conceived as extending over the entire foundation,³³ the columns of the Doric pronaos were provided with a separate plinth,³⁴ and the same member appears within the naos of those temples which were provided with galleries and inner ranges of columns.³⁵ The fact that

³² Ionic columns, from their independent and more decorative character, were more frequently employed as free-standing shafts than were those of the Doric style. The general use of the former as sepulchral monuments has led to the erroneous assumption that the ancients attached to the Ionic column a distinctly mortuary significance. This view, first suggested by O. M. von Stackelberg (*Der Apollo Tempel zu Bassae in Arcadien, und die daselbst ausgegrabenen Bildwerke*: Frankfurt am Main, 1826), has been elaborated by F. Carellius (*Dissertazione esegetica intorno all' origine ed al sistema della sacra architettura presso i Greci*: Napoli, 1831), and especially by Raoul-Rochette (*Monuments inédits d'antiquité*, Paris, 1833; and in the *Journal des Savants*, Paris, 1833). This hypothesis scarcely needs serious disproof. The frequent adoption of Ionic forms for the isolated monuments of a nekropolis is fully explained by the architectural considerations before indicated.

Instances of the employment of Doric columns as sepulchral monuments are, however, by no means uncommon. Such shafts are represented upon many painted vases: to name one collection, instance Inghirami, *Pitture di vasi etruschi*: Ed. 2: Firenze, 1852-56, vol. II, 137, 142, 154, etc. The majority of the existing remains of such columns are of the Doric style. At least one other Doric shaft stood in the Nekropolis of Assos.

³³ That the stylobate comprised the entire floor, above the foundations and steps, is evident from Vitruvius, III. 4. 2.

³⁴ This is the rule, the only exceptions being the temples of Selinous and Assos.

³⁵ Instance the Parthenon, the great temple of Zeus at Olympia, that of Aigina, that of Poseidonia,—in short all the edifices with this arrangement.

the dipteral plan, so common in the Ionic style, is never known to have occurred in the Doric, may in some measure be explained by the consideration that the inner columns would, from many points of view, have appeared altogether destitute of a base. Taken together with the greater relative height of the Ionic column, its possession of an independent base may have also contributed to the not unfrequent adoption of Ionic columns in the interior of Doric structures: instance the Propylaia of Athens.

The supports employed by the Greeks before the introduction of the proto-Doric shaft from Egypt seem to have been round wooden posts, encased in sheets of beaten metal, without vertical striation, but provided with bases as well as capitals of round mouldings. The engaged columns of the Tholos of Atreus, and that represented upon the relief above the Gate of the Lions at Mykenai, certainly imitate empaistic forms. While the use of these columns was entirely discontinued in Greece, reminiscences of them were preserved in the corresponding details of Etruscan architecture. The so-called Tuscan order had derived many of its leading features from Greece at a period when the columns of Beni Hassan were still unknown to Hellenic designers. In Italy the development of the column, not being influenced by the straight-lined and projecting base, followed an entirely different course, much less successful than that of Greece. The base of the former, with its circular plinth and tore of equal height, described by Vitruvius (iv. 7. 3), retained the primitive Hellenic forms almost unaltered. Such bases as these could never have been combined in a continuous plinth. Without the influence of Egypt the column of the Doric style must have remained similar to that of the Etruscan temple.

Among the Greeks the adjacent bases of the functional supports were so connected as to form the stylobate; but the case was not the same with the free-standing shafts of the Doric style. In isolated monuments, aesthetic and practical considerations, as well as ancient traditions, led to the retention of the independent plinth. The Greeks seem never to have been guilty of that modern solecism:²⁶ the erection of a free-standing column without a base. The inorganic juncture of a channelled shaft with a pavement was held to be inadmissible, even by the designers of the Hellenistic period; as is exemplified by the before-

²⁶ Instance the light-house on the jetty at Margate, and similar Doric columns without bases in London, Paris, etc.

mentioned column of the Athenian cemetery. Vase-paintings, too numerous to require specification, show that, after the characteristic forms of the original Doric base had been entirely forgotten, the three steps of the peripteros were placed beneath the channelled column, to form a transition between the horizontal pavement and the upright shaft.

That the Egyptian forms of the base, however, long continued unaltered, is proved by the accurate representation of this member in the careful drawing of a vase in the museum of Florence.³⁷ A Doric column is there shown, standing upon a low projecting slab, with bevelled edge, in all respects like the bases of Beni Hassan. The indications of primitive usage to be derived from such representations,—indeed, the entire history of Greek architecture,—might well have led to the assumption that the Egyptian base would be found in Hellas, were it possible to bring to light some column of the archaic period,³⁸ erected in entire independence of any other support. These conditions are fulfilled in the discovery now published, which provides a striking proof of this theory of development.

Unfortunately, so little remains of the column that it is not possible to perceive from it what progress the Asiatic Greeks of the sixth century had made in that incomparable artistic development which led from the mechanical baldness of the rock-cut supports of Beni Hassan to the organic perfection of the inclined and curved shafts and of the vigorous and graceful capitals of the Parthenon. No epoch of architectural history is of greater interest, the knowledge of none could be of greater practical value, than that immediately preceding the first appearance of the Doric style in its completeness: for complete it is, even in the oldest known temples. The column from Assos is a memorial of this period; and, though but a fragment, forms one of the most important results of the investigations carried on at that site, by furnishing a direct and decisive proof of the Egyptian origin of the Doric shaft, and by explaining the character of a common base which, throughout antiquity, was attached to the stylobate.

JOSEPH THACHER CLARKE.

³⁷ Engraved in Inghirami, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pl. CCCXIV.

³⁸ It may be observed in this connection that the peculiarly provincial character of the art of Assos greatly increased the probability of primitive features being there retained. The sculptures of the temple upon the akropolis, for instance, are so archaic that they have hitherto been universally regarded as nearly a century more ancient than the date to which the building is now assigned.

INTAILLES ANTIQUES DE LA COLLECTION DE LUYNES.

[PLATE VII.]

Dans la célèbre collection d'antiquités et de médailles que le duc de Luynes donna, en 1862, au Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale, à Paris, se trouve une des plus intéressantes séries de pierres gravées que jamais collectionneur ait formée. La plupart de ces précieux monuments sont demeurés inédits bien qu'ils méritent, aussi bien au point de vue artistique qu'au point de vue de l'intérêt des sujets représentés, d'attirer particulièrement l'attention des archéologues. On en jugera par les quelques intailles que nous avons réunies sur la planche annexée à ce travail, et dont nous allons fournir un bref commentaire. La plupart appartiennent à l'art étrusque, d'autres à l'art grec ; quelques-unes enfin à l'art romain.

I.—Capanée foudroyé.

Fils d'Hipponous et d'Astynome, Capanée avait épousé Evadne, fille d'Iphis, roi d'Argos. Il fut un des sept héros argiens qui marchèrent contre Thèbes, lors de la guerre entre Étéocle et Polynice. Il s'était vanté que le feu de Zeus lui-même, ne l'empêcherait pas de monter à l'assaut de la capitale de la Béotie et n'arrêterait pas son audace. Mais au moment où le téméraire s'élançait sur l'échelle pour escalader le rempart, Zeus le foudroya.¹ Une pierre gravée étrusque représente Capanée renversé sur les débris de son échelle ; son nom KATTNO est gravé à côté de lui.² D'autres intailles portent aussi le même sujet.³ A Delphes, il y avait une statue de Capanée consacrée à Apollon par les Argiens.⁴

Sur la pierre gravée de la collection de Luynes, le héros argien, renversé et ayant abandonné son épée recourbée, essaye encore de se

¹ Apollod. III, 6 et suiv.

² Millin, *Galerie mythologique*, pl. cxxxix, n. 510.

³ J. de Witte, *Catalogue Durand*, n. 2189 ; cf. *Bullettino dell' Instituto*, 1834, p. 118.

⁴ Pausanias, x, 10, 2.

couvrir de son bouclier et il regarde le ciel d'où le coup fatal lui a été porté ; l'échelle n'est pas figurée. Le mouvement du corps est bien compris, hardi et d'une bonne exécution.

Cornaline. Haut. 13 mill. ; larg. 9 mill. Scarabée étrusque monté en bague.

II.—DIOMÈDE PORTANT LA TÊTE DE DOLON.

Le héros grec est nu, armé d'un bouclier, d'une épée et de deux javelots ; il tient sur sa main droite la tête casquée de Dolon. Cette pierre gravée a fait autrefois partie de la collection Durand.⁵ Un autre scarabée de la collection Durand représente à peu près le même sujet.⁶ Il existe aussi d'autres monuments sur lesquels on voit Diomède et Ulysse coupant la tête à Dolon, que les Troyens avaient chargé d'observer et d'espionner l'armée des Grecs durant un armistice intervenu au cours du siège de Troie.⁷

Cornaline. Haut. 13 mill. ; larg. 10 mill. Scarabée étrusque.

III.—PANDARÉE EMMENANT LE CHIEN DE CRÈTE.

Le grammairien Antoninus Liberalis raconte dans ses *Metamorphoses*, la fable suivante : "Quand Rhéa, qui craignait Cronos, eût caché Jupiter dans l'antre de Crète, la nymphe Aex vint le nourrir de son lait ; un chien d'or gardait Aex, d'après l'ordre de Rhéa. Après que Jupiter eût ôté l'empire à Cronos par la victoire qu'il remporta sur les Titans, il donna l'immortalité à sa nourrice ; son image fut mise au rang des astres. Quant au chien d'or, il l'établit gardien de son temple dans l'île de Crète. Pandarée, fils de Mérope, ayant volé ce chien, le conduisit au mont Sipyle et le donna en garde à Tantale, fils de Jupiter et de Pluto. Quelque temps après, Pandarée étant venu au Sipyle, réclama le chien ; mais Tantale jura ne pas l'avoir reçu. Jupiter donc, pour punir Pandarée du vol qu'il avait commis, le changea en pierre dans l'endroit même où il se trouvait, et précipita Tantale en bas du mont Sipyle, pour se venger de son parjure."⁸

Il n'est pas difficile de reconnaître sur le scarabée de style étrusque, de la collection de Luynes, le voleur Pandarée, armé du casque, de la

⁵ J. de Witte, *Catalogue Durand*, n. 2199 ; *Bullettino dell' Instituto*, 1834, p. 118.

⁶ J. de Witte, *Catalogue Durand*, n. 2200.

⁷ Millin, *Galerie mythologique*, pl. CLVII, n. 573.

⁸ Voyez J. de Witte, dans la *Revue numismatique*, 1840, p. 190.

lance et du bouclier, tenant un scyphos de la main droite et emmenant le chien de Crète qui, bien qu'en or, n'en était pas moins vivant, à ce que prétend la fable. Dans le champ, on aperçoit une tête barbue de Silène qui sert d'orifice à une fontaine.

Le mythe de Pandarée et du chien crétois est très rare dans les représentations figurées de l'antiquité. Pourtant, sur un vase peint de l'ancienne collection Durand, cette légende se trouve figurée, plus complète que sur le scarabée de Luynes et avec quelques modifications de détail.⁹ On y voit l'audacieux voleur placé entre Héra et Poseidon qui favorisent son entreprise ; il porte les mêmes armes que sur notre pierre gravée ; de la main gauche il tient une couronne et la chaîne attachée au cou du chien de Jupiter.

Calcédoine brouillée. Haut. 17 mill.; larg. 11 mill. Scarabée étrusque monté en bague ; style semi-archaïque.

IV.—CÉPHALE ET LE CHIEN LÆLAPS.

Hermès, *le crépuscule*, épousa Hersé, *la rosée*, fille de Cécrops, et de ce mariage naquit Céphale, *la brillante étoile du matin*, qui disparaît au lever de l'aurore. Céphale, dans le développement de la même allégorie, devient un jeune chasseur, d'une incomparable beauté, qui épouse Procris, *le scintillement de la rosée*, aussi belle et aussi passionnée que lui pour le plaisir de la chasse. Un matin, Eos ou *l'aurore* surprit Céphale qui s'était attardé dans les bois jusqu'au lever du soleil ; elle en devint éperdument amoureuse et l'entraîna de force avec elle jusque dans les régions dorées de l'Orient qu'elle habitait.¹⁰ Cependant, Céphale demeurait fidèle à sa foi conjugale, sourd aux sollicitations de l'audacieuse qui l'avait enlevé. Celle-ci usa d'un stratagème pour vaincre la vertu du beau chasseur : elle lui conseilla d'éprouver la fidélité de la malheureuse Procris. Céphale se rendit méconnaissable sous les vêtements d'un riche étranger et s'en vint faire la cour à sa femme qui tomba dans le piège et se laissa séduire. Couverte de confusion lorsque son mari se fit connaître et craignant sa vengeance, Procris s'enfuit en Crète auprès d'Artémis, et elle se consola en suivant la déesse à la chasse. Artémis lui fit cadeau du chien Lælaps qui n'avait pas son pareil en flair et en vitesse, et d'un javelot dont les

⁹ J. de Witte, *Catalogue de la collection Durand*, n. 262.

¹⁰ Divers monuments représentent Eos qui emporte Céphale. Voyez *Archäologische Zeitung*, neue Folge, t. viii, 1875, pl. 15; J. de Witte, *Catalogue de la collection Durand*, Nos. 233, 234 et 263.

traits étaient inévitables et auxquels nulle proie ne pouvait échapper. Procris résolut à son tour d'éprouver son mari. Elle part sous un déguisement, aborde au port de Thorikos, à la pointe de l'Attique, et invite Céphale à une partie de chasse. Céphale est émerveillé de la rapidité du chien Laelaps et de la vertu du javelot enchanté qui jamais ne manque son but ; pour posséder l'un et l'autre, il déclare sa flamme à la belle étrangère qui ne manque pas de se faire reconnaître au moment propice.

Les deux époux, coupables de la même faute, se réconcilièrent, et rien ne vint désormais troubler leur union, jusqu'au jour où Procris, demeurée néanmoins inquiète et jalouse, voulut savoir si Céphale n'aimait point réellement Eos qu'elle l'entendait souvent appeler aux premiers feux du jour. Procris se cacha, pour épier son mari, derrière un fourré de verdure, à quelque distance de l'endroit où Céphale, assis sur un rocher, se reposait de ses courses nocturnes. Le jeune chasseur entendant tout à coup remuer le feuillage, croit à la présence du gibier ; il arme son arc et lance dans la direction du bruit le javelot inévitable. Procris tombe mortellement frappée, victime à la fois de sa jalouse et du présent fatal qu'elle avait fait à son mari.

Céphale, désespéré et maudissant son sort, erra dans toutes les contrées de la Grèce. Il se trouvait à Thorikos, prêt à s'embarquer pour des régions inconnues, lorsque Amphitron, roi de Thèbes, vint solliciter son secours contre les Téléboens. Le javelot qui avait tué Procris donna la victoire à Amphitron, et celui-ci récompensa les services de Céphale, en lui donnant en toute souveraineté l'île qui s'appela dès lors Céphallénie. Une autre version raconte que Céphale, inconsolable d'avoir tué celle qu'il aimait, s'enfuit bien loin, marchant sans cesse, toujours à l'Ouest ; il atteignit le cap Leucade, en face de Céphallénie et ses forces l'abandonnant, il tomba dans la mer.

Des médailles de la cité des *Pallenses* de Céphallénie représentent le jeune chasseur avec son nom, ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ, au moment où, assis sur un rocher, il va lancer le trait fatal qui devait atteindre Procris. On a voulu aussi reconnaître Céphale dans une statuette de bronze qui le figure dans la même attitude que les médailles.¹¹ L'intaille de la collection de Luynes que nous publions ici nous montre un chasseur et son chien dans lesquels nous n'hésitons pas à reconnaître Céphale et le chien Laelaps. Le chasseur est barbu, entièrement nu comme il convient

¹¹ S. Trivier, dans la *Gazette archéologique*, 1876, p. 144.

aux héros, debout, tenant le pedum de la main gauche baissée, tandis qu'élevant la droite à la hauteur du visage, il présente un objet très petit au chien qui s'élance, debout sur ses pattes de derrière, pour atteindre l'appât.

Cornaline. Haut. 14 mill.; larg. 12 mill. Scarabée étrusque monté en bague; le style de cette pierre est particulièrement remarquable.

V.—LE DEVIN POLYIDIOS RETIRANT LE CORPS DE GLAUCOS DU VASE DE MIEL, EN PRÉSENCE DE MINOS ET DE PASIPHAÉ.

Le jeune fils de Minos, roi de Crète, et de Pasiphaé, tombe dans un tonneau ($\pi\iota\thetao\zeta$) de miel, en poursuivant une souris. Il y meurt étouffé, avant qu'on ait pu songer à l'en retirer. Minos s'adresse alors à Polyidios, devin d'Argos, descendant du fameux Mélampos, qui avait guéri les filles de Prêtos. Mais Polyidios se fait prier: ce n'est que contraint par la force et les menaces qu'il se décide à retirer l'enfant. Minos exige en outre qu'il le ressuscite et pour forcer le devin à avoir recours à toute sa science, il l'enferme avec le cadavre jusqu'à ce que l'enfant soit ramené à la vie. Le miracle s'accomplit et Glaucos revoit le jour.

Sur le scarabée de Luynes, nous voyons Polyidios, debout, à demi-nu, enveloppé dans son péplos et tenant une baguette magique qu'il enfonce dans le vase de miel; la tête de Glaucos émerge du vase. A droite et à gauche, Minos debout, la barbe pointue, enveloppé dans son péplos, et Pasiphaé, assise, posant les mains sur le bord de la cuve, assistent à l'opération théurgique. On connaît d'autres gemmes où le même sujet se trouve représenté; l'une d'elles a fait autrefois partie de la collection Louis Fould.¹²

Cornaline. Haut. 21 mill.; larg. 16 mill. Scarabée étrusque de style semi-archaïque monté en bague.

VI.—PERSÉE VAINQUEUR DE LA GORGONE.

Persée est représenté entièrement nu, debout, s'appuyant légèrement sur un cippe. D'une main il élève triomphalement la tête de la Gorgone qu'il a saisie par les cheveux; de l'autre, il porte une petite Victoire qui tient une palme et une couronne. A ses pieds, sa cuirasse et son bouclier.

¹² Chabouillet, *Catalogue de la coll. Louis Fould*, n. 1047; voyez aussi Gori, *Museum Florentinum*, t. II pl. XLIII, n. 11.

Ce sujet est fréquemment reproduit sur les monuments antiques, particulièrement les vases peints et les médailles ; aussi nous n'insisterons pas sur son explication. Remarquons toutefois que notre scarabée s'écarte un peu de la donnée généralement acceptée. Presque partout Persée tient la harpe au lieu d'une Victoire et le cadavre acéphale de la Gorgone est étendu à ses pieds, comme sur les monnaies d'Amisus du Pont, par exemple.

Cornaline. Haut. 18 mill. ; larg. 14 mill. Scarabée étrusque monté en bague. Excellent style.

VII.—CASTOR PUISANT DE L'EAU À LA FONTAINE, CHEZ LES BÉBRYCES.

Le héros est représenté nu, avec de longs cheveux, son péplos enroulé autour du bras gauche. Posant le pied sur une roche, il se penche en avant, du côté d'un museau de lion qui forme l'orifice de la fontaine et d'où s'échappent des eaux. A ses pieds, on voit l'autre qui s'emplit de l'eau qui jaillit de la source. Dans le champ, le nom *QVTZA*, *Castor*, en caractères étrusques.

Dans sa xxii^e idylle, Théocrite chante la gloire des Dioscures et raconte notamment les aventures de Castor et de Pollux quand ils prirent part à l'expédition des Argonautes. Le navire Argo s'étant arrêté sur la côte du pays des Bébryces, en Bithynie, les deux jumeaux en profitèrent pour débarquer et faire une excursion dans ce pays inconnu. Après avoir marché quelque temps, à l'aventure, dans des contrées solitaires, au milieu des montagnes et des bois, ils découvrirent sous une roche escarpée une source abondante. Ils allaient s'y désaltérer, et déjà Castor y puisait, comme on le voit sur le scarabée que nous publions ici, lorsque paraît l'hôte de ce site sauvage, le géant Amycus. Un colloque s'engage : "Eh quoi, mon ami, dit Pollux, ne pourrons-nous même pas nous désaltérer à cette source?" Le barbare prétend s'y opposer, et finalement Pollux engage avec Amycus un combat corps à corps, combat terrible dans lequel il prouve sa force extraordinaire : le géant est terrassé et vaincu.

Cornaline. Haut. 16 mill. ; larg. 10 mill. Scarabée étrusque monté en bague.

VIII.—LE TIREUR D'ÉPINE.

Faune agenouillé, cherchant à extraire une épine du pied d'un autre faune assis devant lui. Le patient, le corps à demi-couvert d'une

nébride, et muni d'une queue qui caractérise sa nature, lève la jambe droite et l'appuie sur le genou de son compagnon ; les contorsions de son corps, sa tête rejetée en arrière, les traits contractés du visage, tout cela est l'expression d'une violente douleur. L'opérateur, aussi à demi-couvert d'une nébride, est tout entier absorbé par l'extraction de l'épine ; il regarde attentivement son ouvrage sans se préoccuper de la souffrance qu'endure son camarade.

On connaît le tireur d'épine classique : le berger qui cherche à extraire lui-même l'épine qui a pénétré dans ses chairs, et dont les principales reproductions sont les statuettes de bronze du Vatican, de la collection de Rothschild,¹³ et le marbre qui, de la collection Castellani, est passé au Musée britannique.¹⁴ Mais un autre type de tireur d'épine, créé sans doute par un autre artiste, est celui qui se compose de deux personnages, et dont la pierre gravée de la collection de Luynes est une reproduction plus ou moins libre. Il existe plusieurs groupes de marbre qui doivent être rapprochés du sujet de cette intaille. Nous n'en citerons que deux. L'un, au Vatican, représente un Satyre, cornu, à pattes de boue, accroupi devant un Faune, assis sur un rocher, et cherchant à extraire une épine du pied de ce dernier.¹⁵ L'autre, au musée du Louvre, est un groupe analogue, avec une pose un peu différente.

Les variantes que nous signalons n'empêchent pas que ces monuments n'aient un fond commun, et qu'ils ne soient évidemment de libres interprétations d'un chef-d'œuvre unique qui, malheureusement, n'est pas parvenu jusqu'à nous, mais qui eût pu, peut-être, soutenir la comparaison avec le tireur d'épine à un seul personnage dont nous avons de si admirables reproductions.¹⁶

Nous n'insisterons pas sur le caractère artistique de la pierre gravée que nous venons de décrire. Cependant, nous ferons remarquer la pose particulièrement heureuse des deux satyres, la hardiesse et le naturel de leurs mouvements, la parfaite harmonie qui règne dans les proportions de leurs membres. La souffrance aiguë et difficilement contenue, est bien rendue par les contortions du patient, les traits mou-

¹³ Voy. *Gazette archéologique*, t. vii (1881-82), pl. 9, 10 et 11 et p. 127.

¹⁴ *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1879, p. 21 et pl. II et III.

¹⁵ Mus. Pio Clement. t. I, pl. 48 : Cf. Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.* n. 1742, pl. 726.

¹⁶ Sur les tireurs d'épine, voyez A. Furtwängler, *Der Dornauszieher und der Knabe mit der Gans*, in-8°, Berlin, 1876 : *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1874, t. XLVI, pl. M ; 1876, t. XLVIII, pl. O.

vementés de son visage et jusque dans la musculature de ses pieds, qui se crispent sous la douleur. Rien n'égale, d'autre part, la finesse de l'expression du jeune berger qui se livre avec une délicatesse, une attention et un sang froid de circonstance, à une minutieuse opération chirurgicale.

Calcédoine blanche. Haut. 22 mill.; larg. 17 mill. Intaille de style grec montée en bague.

IX.—MARSYAS APPRENANT À OLYMPUS À JOUER DE LA SYRINX.

Le satyre Phrygien qui osa disputer à Apollon le prix de la musique et fut cruellement puni de sa témérité, est debout à côté de son élève; on le reconnaît à ses cornes et à ses pattes de bouc; il tient un pedum à la main. Le jeune Olympus, son compatriote et son disciple, est assis sur un rocher et il tient des deux mains la syrinx dont il va jouer. Plus loin, au second plan, on aperçoit la grotte du satyre placée au-dessus d'un rocher escarpé.

Peu de légendes furent plus fréquemment que celle de Marsyas interprétées par les artistes grecs. On peut citer de grandes statues de marbre qui représentent, comme notre intaille, Marsyas ou Pan apprenant à Olympus à jouer de la syrinx;¹⁷ d'autres monuments figurent Marsyas enseignant à son élève à jouer de la flûte.¹⁸ Pausanias raconte qu'une peinture de Polygnote à Delphes représentait Marsyas, assis sur un rocher, ayant à côté de lui Olympus jeune, à qui il donne une leçon de flûte. Pline nous informe d'autre part, qu'on voyait au Champ de Mars, à Rome, un groupe représentant Olympus et Pan et qui passait pour un chef-d'œuvre: l'auteur en était inconnu.¹⁹ L'attitude d'Olympus, sur la pierre gravée de Luynes, a la plus grande analogie avec le type de revers de beaux tétra-drachmes d'Arcadie sur lesquels figure le jeune héros phrygien assis sur un rocher.

Cornaline. Haut. 15 mill.; larg. 14 mill. Intaille de style grec.

X.—SATURNE DANS UN CHAR TRAÎNÉ PAR DEUX SERPENTS.

Le dieu est assis, les jambes enveloppées dans sa chlamyde; de la main droite, il tient la harpe debout, en guise de sceptre; de la gauche

¹⁷ Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 726 B, 1736 D, 1736 E.

¹⁸ Millin, *Galerie Mythologique*, t. 1, pl. xix, 77: Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue des Camées et pierres gravées du Cabinet des Médailles*, n. 1874.

¹⁹ Plin. *Hist. nat.* xxxvi, 5.

il saisit les rênes nouées autour du cou des dragons. Dans le champ, on voit les figures du Capricorne et du Verseau. Les représentations de Cronos ou Saturne sont rares;²⁰ celle-ci est particulièrement intéressante. Il faut la rapprocher des monnaies d'Antonin le Pieux frappées la VIII^e année de son règne à Alexandrie d'Egypte. Sur ces pièces, le buste de Saturne est accompagné, tantôt de la constellation du Capricorne et tantôt de celle du Verseau: on sait que ces constellations étaient le domicile de la planète Saturne, ce qui explique leur association avec le dieu lui-même sur les monuments figurés. Rappelons enfin qu'à l'époque d'Antonin, l'astrologie était particulièrement en honneur à Alexandrie.²¹

Jaspe rouge. Haut. 11 mill.; larg. 15 mill. Intaille romaine de bon style, de l'époque des Antonins.

ERNEST BABELON.

²⁰ Voyez A. de Longpierier, *Notice des bronzes antiques du Louvre*, p. 2.

²¹ Charles Lenormant, *Nouvelle galerie mythologique*, p. 5.

THE LOST MOSAICS OF ROME IV TO IX CENTURY.

[PLATE VIII.]

THE VATICAN BASILICA.—When Constantine built the basilica of St. Peter, the main decoration of the interior consisted of mosaics, with which the greater part of the walls were covered. The apse mosaic was restored under Severinus (c. 640) and Innocent III (1198–1216), and existed until the basilica was destroyed to make way for the new edifice; that on the triumphal arch and remnants of those on the walls of the transept were still seen and described at the beginning of the XVI century. As to the nave, the tradition which asserts them to have had a mosaic decoration which was replaced by the frescos of Pope Formosus (891–96), rests on very uncertain foundations. A Constantinian mosaic certainly existed on the façade, as Comm. de Rossi has recently proved, and it was replaced by that of Gregory IX (1227–41).

The earliest of the mosaics of the Vatican basilica about which we have much information is, without doubt, that which was placed on the triumphal arch, and which Prof. Frothingham was so fortunately able to reconstruct from a text of the XVI century. As this remarkable example of the mosaic painting of the fourth century has been described in detail by my learned American fellow-worker, I shall limit myself to a reference to his essay published in the *Revue Archéologique* of Jan.–Feb. 1883.¹

I myself have given in the same Review (Nov. 1878, Aug. 1879 and Sept. 1882) a detailed study of the mosaic of the apse, to which it will be necessary only to refer.²

VATICAN BAPTISTERY.—Another mosaic of the fourth century is known only from a description in the poems of Prudentius; it was

¹ *Une mosaïque Constantinienne inconnue à Saint-Pierre de Rome.*

² *Notes sur les Mosaïques Chrétiennes de l'Italie.* vi. *Des éléments antiques dans les mosaïques romaines du Moyen Age.*

placed in the baptistery built by St. Damasus (366-84), if we are to believe the palatine manuscript cited by Gruter:

Ad Fontes.

NON HAEC HUMANIS OPIBVS NON ARTE MAGISTRA
SED PRAESTANTE PETRO CVI TRADITA JANVA COELI
EST ANTISTES XPI COMPOSVIT DAMASVS
VNA PETRI SEDES VNVM VERVMQVE LAVACRVM
VINCVLA NVLLA TENEAT. AGATHIVS VOTVM SOLVIT.³

Some well-known verses, composed by the pontiff, allude to the works which he had undertaken in order to conduct to the Baptistery the water that was damaging the tombs of the martyrs. They are among the most elegant of his poetical productions:

"Cingebant latices montem teneroque meatu
Corpora multorum, cineres, atque ossa rigabant.
Non tulit hoc Damasus, communi lege sepultos
Post requiem, tristes iterum persolvere poenas," etc.⁴

Finally, the verses of Prudentius often cited since the XVI century describe the subject of the mosaics executed in this sanctuary:

"Interior tumuli pars est, ubi lapsibus sonoris
Stagnum nivali volvitur profundo.
Omnicolor vitreas pictura superne tingit undas
MUSCI RELUENT, ET VIRESCT AURUM
Cyaneusque latex umbram trahit imminentis ostri.
Credas, moveri fluctibus lacunar.
Pastor oves alit ipse illuc gelidi rigore fontis
Videt sitire quas fluenta Christi."⁵

The Good Shepherd feeding his flock, is a subject quite often represented in the primitive mosaics. It occurs, among other instances, in the mosaics that filled one of the small apses of the portico of San Venanzio (*pastores armenta pascentes*), which we may suppose resembled the fifth-century mosaic remaining in one of the apses of San Lorenzo at Milan, and in that of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, at Ravenna. Commendatore de Rossi is inclined to think that the mosaics represented also marine subjects: "scene di mare," e. g., a

³ *Corpus Inscr. Rom.* 1163, No. 10.

⁴ This inscription is preserved in the Vatican crypts, and bears the number 47.

⁵ *Prudentii Carmina*: Rome, 1789, p. 1194: LIB. ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ. Hym. XII, 38, etc.

tempest-tossed vessel ; this he gathers from this inscription formerly placed on the very spot where Damasus anointed the faithful on emerging from the water :

TV CRVCE SVSCEPTA MVNDI VITARE PROCELLAS
DISCE MAGIS MONITVS HAC RATIONE LOCI.⁶

VATICAN.—ORATORY OF SANTA CROCE.—We learn from the *Liber Pontificalis* that Pope Symmachus (498–514) ordered the construction, in the Vatican basilica, of the oratory of the Holy Cross : “ Item (fecit) ad fontem in basilica S. Petri apostoli oratorium sanctae Crucis ex argento, confessionem, et crucem ex auro cum gemmis, ubi inclaudit lignum Dominicum, ipsa crux pens. libras x.”⁷

The papal chronicle does not add any information as to the mosaics that adorned the oratory having been executed under the auspices of this pope : this is first asserted by a medieval writer, Petrus Mallius, who was a canon of the basilica in the XII century and wrote a well-known description of it : “ Ecclesia sanctae Crucis, quam construi fecit beatae recordationis Symachus Papa, cuius absidam columnis porfireticis, et optimo musivo decoravit et decem libras ligni sanctae crucis in ea recondidit.”⁸ May not Mallius have taken for the work of Symmachus what was in reality that of Leo III ? I am rather inclined to think so, and this on account of a document but slightly posterior to Leo III, and consequently a far greater authority than Mallius, I mean the *Liber Pontificalis*, which attributes positively to the contemporary of Charlemagne the execution of the mosaics of the apse of this oratory : “ Oratorium sanctae crucis quod jam prae nimia vetustate erat ruiturum simul cum absida novo aedificio erexit et ad perfectum usque perduxit, atque ipsam absidam ex musivo diverso decoratam picturis atque marmoribus miro splendore ornavit” (*in vita Leonis III*, § LXVI).

VATICAN.—ORATORY OF SAN MICHELE.—Mallius, Vegius, Panvinio and Ciampini mention the mosaics which adorned the altar of the Archangel Michael, situated in the portico before the church of Santa Petronilla (plan of Alfarano, No. 154) : “ Templum Sanctae Petronillae ante quod est Basilica Sancti Angeli, quae vocatur Vaticanicum, mirifico mosibo laqueatum auro et vitro.”⁹ “ De oratorio

⁶ *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* ; 1867, p. 88, fig. p. 34.

⁷ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, p. 261. Cf. Note 21 on p. 266.

⁸ *Descriptio basilicae Vaticanae*, ed. de Angelis, p. 124.

⁹ P. Mallius, *op. cit.* ed. de Angelis, p. 58.

sanctae Michaëlis archangeli. Ante templum sanctae Petronillae versus murum ecclesiae fuit sacellum, sive aedicula sancti Michaëlis archangeli, dicta in Vaticano, auratis laquearibus ornata, musivo vitreoque opere decorata, quae diu ante exolevit: remansit vero tantum altare dictum sancti Michaëlis, quod etiam hodie amplius non extat. Sic P. Mallius et M. Vegius.¹⁰ "C. Litera haec ecclesiam Sancti Andree a Symmacho papa constructam designat, de qua etiam egimus supra sub numero $\frac{1}{3}$. . Tria in eadem erant altaria . . secundum ad dexteram D. Michaeli arcangelo dedicatum, ac S. Angeli Vaticani nomine insignitum, mosivoque opere erat ornatum."¹¹

VATICAN.—ORATORY OF SANTA LUCIA.—The author of the description of the Vatican basilica as it existed in the latter half of the XII century, Petrus Mallius (*op. cit.* p. 125), attributes to Gregory the Great (590–604) the mosaics of the oratory of Santa Lucia, situated on the right before reaching the confession of St. Peter and near *San Giovanni ad fontes*: "Ante ecclesiam sancti Joannis ad Fontes ad oratorium sanctae Luciae, quod, ut a nostris accipimus, consecravit beatus Gregorius Papa, et ejus venerabile brachium in eo recondidit, et parietes illius, ut appareat, musivo depinxit."

De Angelis, the editor of Mallius, relates (*loc. cit.*) that he himself had seen, "in vestigio antiquo hujus Basilicae," the following inscription: **ALTARE S. LVCIAE VIRGINIS A GEGORIO (sic) PRIMO.** The existence of such a document, if it were well established, would tend to confirm the assertion of Mallius.

Panvinio, who also speaks of the antiquity of the chapel dedicated to Santa Lucia, places it in a different part of the basilica.¹²

VATICAN BASILICA.—FAÇADE OF THE ATRIUM.—Pope Sergius (687–701) restored the partially ruined mosaics of the façade of the atrium: "Hic musivum, quod ex parte in fronte atrii ejusdem basilicae fuerat dirutum innovavit."¹³ These mosaics probably belonged to the time of Constantine himself.

VATICAN.—ORATORY OF JOHN THE SEVENTH (705-8).—The mosaics of this oratory have been studied in a special article pub-

¹⁰ Panvinio, *apud Mai, Spicilegium Romanum*, t. IX, p. 260.

¹¹ Ciampini, *De Sacris Aedificiis*, p. 93. Cf. Mignanti, *Istoria della sacra arca Basilica Vaticana*, t. I, p. 129.

¹² *De septem urbis ecclesiis*, p. 46.

¹³ Lib. Pont., *in vita Sergii XI*, ed. Duchesne, t. I, p. 375. Cf. Panvinio *apud Mai, Spicilegium Romanum*, t. IX, p. 233.

lished in the *Revue Archéologique*, September, 1877: we refer our readers to it for details.

VATICAN.—ORATORY OF THE VIRGIN.—According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Gregory III (731–41) caused to be constructed in the Basilica of Saint Peter, near the triumphal arch, in the space reserved for the men, an oratory dedicated to the Virgin.¹⁴ Mallius adds (*op. cit.*, p. 15) that, by the side of the altar to the Mother of Christ, another altar was raised in honor of Saint Gabinus. Neither of them mentions the mosaics which the oratory owed to Gregory III. Panvinio is the first who speaks of them (*op. cit.*, p. 42): “Octavum oratorium cum duobus altaribus S. Mariae et S. Gabinii a parte transversae crucis sub areu majore, prope chorum canoniconorum, in media cruce existentem, fuit beatae Mariae a Gregorio III fabricatum [et] dedicatum, pulcherrimis musiveis figuris condecoratum . . . in quo ipse, Eugeniusque III, qui illud restituit, sepulti fuere.”

The last phrase shows that the oratory served as a burial-place for both Gregory III and Eugenius III. This circumstance raises some doubt in my mind regarding the assertion of Panvinio. In fact Mallius and, later, Mapheus Vegius tell us that the tomb of the first of these pontiffs was adorned with mosaics. It is questionable whether these mosaics were distinct from those which the learned Veronese monk mentions: he may have taken the mosaics of the tomb of Gregory III, executed probably a short while after his death, to be the work of this pope. This kind of mosaic, instead of relating to the life of the defunct, represented ordinarily the same general subjects, so that such a confusion would not be improbable.

Leaving this question unsettled, I will cite the passages of Mallius and Vegius just alluded to. Mallius says (*ubi supra*): “Hie itaque summus Papa Gregorius tertius requiescit in loco illo, ubi nunc felicis memoriae beatus Eugenius Papa tertius requiescit. Ubi etiam ad honorem ejusdem Gregorii Papae fuit erectus arcus optime mosivo depictus et permansit usque ad tempora Domini Eugenii tertii Papae.” Vegius says: “Extat adhuc titulus Eugenii III marmori impressus. Deperiit enim Gregorii III, et titulus qui erat hujusmodi, TERTIVS HIC PAPA GREGORIUS EST TVMVLATVS, et arcus simul qui illi erat erectus, ex nobili mosivo depictum.”¹⁵

¹⁴ *In vita Gregorii III*, § vi.

¹⁵ *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus Basilicae S. Petri Romae*, in the *Acta Sanctorum* for June, t. vii, p. 83.

To the restorations undertaken in this oratory by Eugenius III must be added those of Cardinal Lorenzo, nephew of Innocent VIII, who renewed it in 1495.¹⁶

VATICAN.—ORATORY OF SANTA MARIA IN TURRI.—Three mosaics were executed under the pontificate of Paul I (757–67). One of them decorated the oratory of the Virgin, popularly termed “de’ Cancelli,” in the Vatican basilica. It has long since disappeared, without leaving any traces but the more or less meaningless epithets bestowed on it by the authors of the Middle Ages or of the Renaissance:¹⁷ the very subject which it represented is unknown. The second, which was in the church built near the monastery of SS. Stephen and Sylvester, met with a similar fate.¹⁸ As for the third, in the Oratory of Santa Maria in Turri, it seems to have almost entirely escaped the notice of archæologists,¹⁹ though a detailed ms. description and even a drawing of it are preserved: it is to this work that the following lines refer.

It is known that, on the erection of the new edifice, many of the ancient monuments belonging to the old basilica were designed and painted on the walls of certain parts of the crypt, in order to preserve some memory of them. Such a reproduction of this mosaic existed in the time of Torrigio (c. 1625), in the chapel of Santa Maria del Portico: this probably had been executed but a few years before the time when he wrote. He says: “Appresso scorgesì depinta la facciata antica di mosaico, e l’imagine del Salvatore, che stava già nell’ Oratorio di S. Maria in Laborario, ò *Inter Turus*, ò *In turribus*, ò *In turri*, ò *in Atrio*: detta così perchè stava nel cortile, e tra il campanile, e una certa Torre chiamata *Turris S. Justini*. . . . Vi si legge: *Opus musivum Salvatoris Oratorii S. Mariae in Turri à S. Paolo I.*”²⁰

The *Liber Pontificalis*, even, mentions this work, without however

¹⁶ Severano, *Memorie sacre delle sette chiese*, p. 107.

¹⁷ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, t. I, pp. 465, 467; P. Mallius, *op. cit.*, p. 50; M. Vegius, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Panvinius, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁸ *Lib. Pont.*, ed. Duchesne, t. I, p. 464.

¹⁹ Besides the reference to it by Torrigio, it has been mentioned incidentally and with many errors in some little-known works. Bonnani, *Tempi Vaticani historia*, p. 145: Marangoni, *Storia della cappella . . . di San Lorenzo*, 1747, p. 179: R. de Busièvre, *Les sept Basiliques de Rome*. More recently it is mentioned and inadequately published in Garrucci’s great work, *Storia dell’ Arte Cristiana*, vol. I, in his chronology, under Paul I.

²⁰ Torrigio, *Le Sacre Grotte Vaticane*: Roma, 1639, p. 112.

expressly using the word mosaic. This passage is not given in all the mss., but in one of the most important of them preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale and dating from the ix century: "Fecit autem et in atrium ante turrem sanctae Mariae ad grada quod vocatur Paradiso oraculum ante Salvatorem in honore sanctae Dei genetricis Mariae miro opere et decoravit magnifice."²¹ The expressions "mirum opus" and "decoravit magnifice" clearly show the nature of the decoration of the building; they are almost always synonymous with mosaic-work. The presence of such a work on the façade of the *oraculum* as late as the first years of the xvii century (it was destroyed in 1610) does but confirm this hypothesis. This mosaic adorned the upper part of the façade, which was supported by Ionic columns and was between buildings of a style rather difficult to determine (perhaps added at a later date). It is thus given in the drawings that accompany the mss. of the antiquarian Giacomo Grimaldi, apostolic notary and archivist of the basilica of St. Peter. This writer gives the following description of the mosaic: "Opus igitur ipsum musivum Pauli primi Salvatorem habebat sedentem, et sinistra librum tenentem, in quo erant litterae EGO SVM RESVRRECTIO ET VITA, in rota stellis ornata: hinc inde angeli rotam tenentes; subitus rotam Salvatoris seniores quatuor, bini per latera, offerentes coronas Salvatori, quatuor angeli sustinent rotam, et alii quatuor stant in actu volatus, supplicibus manibus versus Salvatorem, hinc inde; omnes vestiti. Musivum totum sinistrae partis seu magna pars desiderabatur; cecidit tempore Joannis XXIII Cossae, ut notat Antonius Petri in suo diario; deficit in fabricando moeniano marmoreo ad benedictiones. In Zophoro, multae litterae corruerunt, sed cum Pompeio Ugonio, insigni oratore²² meique amantissimo, considerando spatia litterarum quae desiderabantur, multo antequam fabri ipsam faciem demolirent; ita Ugonius inscriptionem eandem ad integrum est interpretatus. Litterae autem erant e musivo majusculae Romanae, licet ineptae. Nigrae remanserant, rubrae vero additae sunt, videlicet: + X . PE | TI bi SIT honor | Paulus QVOD DECO | rat opus ♂."²³

²¹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, p. 465.

²² He is the author of that valuable work, *Historia delle Stationi di Roma*: Rome, 1588.

²³ *Catalogus sacrarum Reliquiarum almae Vaticanae Basilicae*, fol. 68, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The red letters of Grimaldi's MS., being those that were supplied, are printed in italics.

The drawing which accompanies Grimaldi's description (PL. VIII) represents Christ seated in the centre of a starry circle. His right hand is raised in the act of blessing or teaching, and his left holds the book. On each side three angels dart towards him with a motion of considerable boldness, to pay him homage. Somewhat lower are two angels of smaller dimensions, one on each side. The lower part is occupied by four figures which have the nimbus, as do all the other figures in the composition: they raise towards Christ a crown in homage. Grimaldi considers them to be the Elders of the Apocalypse (*quatuor Seniores*), but then why should we have four only instead of the 12 or 24 represented at San Paolo fuori-le-mura, at SS. Cosmo e Damiano, at Santa Prassede, on the façade of the basilica of San Pietro itself, etc.? Perhaps it may be admitted that the other figures disappeared at the time when the mosaic was made over. We know, for example, from the *Diarium* of Antonio di Pietro, that the entire left side fell, at the beginning of the xv century, under the pontificate of John XXIII.

Torrigio informs us (*op. cit.*, p. 114) that the chapel was restored by Innocent II (1130-43), and quotes the inscription of that Pope, found in 1610: "Questa Cappella fù restaurata da Innocentio II, e nel 1610 fù trovata un' Iscrittione in marmo, che stava nell' altare de gli Auditori di Rota nella sala sotto il portico, che diceva:

EST IN HONORE PIAE DOMVS ISTA SACRATA MARIAE
HOC INNOCENTI TE PRAESVLE PERFICIENTE."

It is a well-known fact that, in the ceremony of imperial investiture, the Emperor was received by the canons in this chapel²⁴ and there took his solemn oath. This leads me to recognize an allusion to the mosaic in a hitherto obscure passage of Ugonio (*op. cit.*, p. 93, ro.) when he describes the entrance to the Basilica: "Passate le scale si entra in un spatio coperto: dove à man manca si vede nel muro un imagine del Signore con certe corone intorno & una croce sotto di porfido. Qui quando l'Imperatore si coronava in S. Pietro, si soleva drizzare un' altare; & si eleggeva Canonico di S. Pietro con certe solenni ceremonie."

VATICAN.—TOMB OF SAINT SIXTUS I.—The *Liber Pontificalis* tells us: "Paschalis in basilica (S. Petri) ante aditum qui ducit ad corpus in loco Ferrata, altare constituit, in quo et venerandum beati

²⁴ See Torrigio, p. 586.

Sixti martyris atque pontificis corpus honestissime collocavit, ubi et desuper arcum musivo exornatum decenter instruxit" (*in vita Paschalis I*, § v).

Petrus Mallius speaks more than once of this mosaic executed under Pope Pascal: "Xystus Papa fuit sepultus juxta ferratam prope corpus beati Petri ubi adhuc est arcus de musibo, quem fecit fieri Paschalix Papa primus (p. 62). Altare beati Xysti I quod est in introitu Basilicae beati Petri juxta ferratam, super quod altare est arcus ex mirifico musivo, sicut legitur in vita Paschalis I Papae" (p. 107). In the time of Mapheus Vegius the tomb of Sixtus I still existed; for he tells us (p. 81) that it was newly brought to light, together with those of St. Leo and of Hadrian, on the occasion of the works undertaken by Nicholas V: "Dum fundamenta ubi immensa novi operis imperfecti moles requiesceret, a Nicolao V aperirentur, reperiae sunt ibi subterraneae cellae ornatissimae quae, superjecta ingenti ruderum congerie, intra viscera terrae absconditae, penitus ignotae erant. Sane primum ipsum oratorium S. Sixti est, quod respicit suggestum, ubi Evangelium cantatur; de quo dicit Paschalis Papa, post depraedationem coemeterii Calisti positum fuisse, ubi corpus B. Sixti martyris ante corpus B. Petri juxta septa ferrea, super quod et factum altare, lapidibus ornatum, et super altare arcus ex miro musivo; quae sicut ille dicit adhuc hodie apparent."

Writers of the XVI and XVII centuries also mention this arch as covered with mosaics, but without describing it. No vestige of it remains.

VATICAN.—ORATORY OF SS. PROCESSUS AND MARTINIANUS.
—"Simili modo in eadem sacerissima beati Petri apostoli ecclesia, juxta ingressum qui dueit ad beatam Petronillam, oratorium summae magnitudinis atque pulchritudinis decoranter construxit: et super columnas in quadrifilio cameranter musivo pulchrisque metallis decoravit. In eo et corpora beatissimorum martyrum Processi et Martiniani recondidit."²⁵ It is in these terms that the *Liber Pontificalis* speaks of this work.

Mallius (p. 54) devotes a few lines to the oratory of the two saints: "juxta portam aeneam qua itur ad sanctam Petronillam et ad sanctum Andream, est oratorium sanctorum Processi et Martiniani martyrum, mosibo et diversis lapidibus decoratum."

²⁵ *Lib. Pont.*, *in vita Paschalis I*, § v.

Mapheus Vegius (*ubi supra*), also, was still able to study this interesting work of the IX century, of which, unfortunately, he did not think it necessary to give a description: "ultra portam aeneam quae ducit ad altare sanctae Petronillae, est eximum oratorium, quod ex mosivo egregie fabricatum erexit Paschalis Papa in honorem Processi et Martiniani."

Finally, a French Cardinal who died in 1470, Richard de Normandie, willed a considerable sum for the decoration of this oratory, where he wished to be buried.²⁶ Grimaldi relates that the unconsecrating of the altar took place in 1605: "Sub eodem pontifice (Paulo V) inter multa ac paeclarata tantae basilicae monumenta quae perierunt etiam insigne SS. Processi et Martiniani martyrum oratorium opere vermiculato lapidibus ac metallis decoratum solo aequatum fuit."²⁷

On this last point the assertion of Chattard,²⁸ who places the destruction of the oratory under the pontificate of Julius II, must be corrected.

VATICAN.—ORATORY OF ST. GREGORY.—The *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to Gregory IV (827-44) the decoration of this monument (*in vita*, § vi): "(Gregorius IV) corpus beati Gregorii ex loco, sepulatum quo prius fuerat, tulit, et non longe ab eo in alium noviter constructum infra ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli summo honore perduxit. Ejusque sacrum altare argenteis tabulis undique ornavit, et oratorium in suo sancto nomine titulavit absidamque ejus desuper aurato musivo depinxit." Mallius (p. 78) mentions the oratory of St. Gregory, but without speaking of the mosaics which adorned it.

The historians of the basilica are not in accord as to the site occupied by this oratory. While some, like Severano,²⁹ place it on the right of the portico of the church, others seek to identify it with the chapel of Santa Maria delle Febbre, built and adorned with mosaics by the same pope, Gregory IV.

VATICAN.—ORATORY OF ST. LEO.—This oratory is known by a passage of the *Liber Pontificalis*, *in vita Leonis IV*, § xxxi: "Ipse quidem a Deo protectus et venerabilis praesul intra basilicam beati Petri apostoli oraculum mirae pulchritudinis, summique decoris construxit, quod pulchris marmoribus circumdans splendide compsit absidamque ejus ex musivo aureo superinducto colore glorificè deco-

²⁶ Grimaldi, MS. of Barberini Library, xxxiv, No. 49, ff. 11-12.—²⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 10.

²⁸ *Nuova descrizione del Vaticano*: Rome, 1762, t. 1, p. 67.

²⁹ *Memorie sacre delle sette chiese*, p. 67.

ravit, in quo etiam corpus beati Leonis confessoris, atque pontificis recondens," etc.

THE LATERAN BASILICA.—The Lateran, like the Vatican, was from the time of its foundation a great centre for mosaic painting. Its mosaic series may be divided into three parts, into those which decorated (1) the Basilica itself, (2) the Baptistry and its dependencies, (3) the various buildings of the pontifical palace, especially the triclinia and oratories.

No records of Constantinian mosaics exist, as at the Vatican, and the earliest known is doubtless that still to be seen in the Chapel of SS. Rufina and Secondina, attributed by De Rossi to about 400 A. D. From that time, however, until the decline of mosaic painting the Lateran basilica possessed a complete and uninterrupted series of works. Here was placed the last work executed by the Roman school of the early Middle Ages,—the mosaics of the nave executed by Sergius III about the year 907; a work of which no notice has ever been taken by art historians; that of Santa Maria in Trastevere, executed under Benedict III (855–58), having been considered the last mosaic of this school.

Here, again, I must commence by referring the reader to previous works. A notice of the apsidal mosaic of the basilica appeared in the *Revue Archéologique* (Nov. 1878, Aug. 1879, Sept. 1882); another, of the triclinium of the apostolic palace, in the same Review (Jan. 1884).

LATERAN.—ORATORY OF THE HOLY CROSS.—Saint Hilary (461–68) raised three oratories by the side of the baptistery of the Lateran. Two of these, joined to and communicating with this edifice, still remain: the oratory of John the Baptist and that of St. John the Evangelist. The third, that of the Holy Cross, which was placed at a certain distance from the baptistery, on the right hand coming from the square of the Lateran, has disappeared. "Fecit oratoria tria in baptisterio basilicae Constantiniæ, S. Johannis Baptistae, S. Johannis Evangelistae et S. Crucis . . . Nymphaeum et triporticum [fecit] ante oratorium S. Crucis . . . undique ornatum ex musibô et columnis aquitanicis et tripolitis et purphyreticis."³⁰

Several inscriptions complete the evidence as to the part which St. Hilary had in all these works. Over the door of the oratory of St.

³⁰ *Lib. Pont.*; ed. Duchesne, pp. 242, 243; cf. Note 3, p. 245.

John the Evangelist we still read: LIBERATORI SVO BEATO JOHANNI EVANGELISTAE HILARVS EPISCOPVS FAMVLVS XPI. Over that of the oratory of John the Baptist: HILARVS EPISCOPVS DEI FAMVLVS OFFERT.

Of the mosaics executed in these different edifices, the *Liber Pontificalis*, as we have seen, mentions only those of the nymphaeum placed in front of the oratory of the Holy Cross. But we know that for the first five or six centuries of the Christian era the papal chronicle does not pride itself on a strict exactitude. It is therefore allowable to supplement its silence by means of data furnished by the style of the works themselves. At least in that one of these works which has survived, the style is that of the mosaics of the time of St. Hilary, as I will soon show.

The oratory of the Holy Cross was destroyed at the time of the last restoration of the Lateran, under Sixtus V: "Questo luogo et Capelle, essendo del tutto rovinate e desolate, . . . è parso il meglio in quest' ultima restaurazione del Laterano si levassero."³¹ At the epoch in which Panvinio wrote it had already lost the greater part of its riches (*op. cit.*, p. 165): "Nunc magna ex parte omnibus ornamentis suis, et marmoreis etiam spoliatum est; et eorum loco repositae sunt inepti artificis picturae."

Nevertheless, we know what the mosaics of this oratory represented, thanks to Severano and Cardinal Rasponi. As their descriptions complete each other, I will reproduce both of them: "La volta era ornata di mosaico, con quattro Angeli nei cantoni, li quali sostenevano una croce. Trà le quattro finestre, che vi erano, si vedevano le immagini (parimente di mosaico) di SS. Pietro e Paolo, Gio: Battista, Gio: Evangelista, Jacomo, Filippo, Lorenzo, e Stephano; e nelli muri delle Tribune medesime, coperti di marmi, i segni della santissima Croce."³² Rasponi says: "Tectum concameratum opere musivo aureo elegansissimo expictum erat, visebanturque ad angulos quatuor Angeli qui ingentem crucem sustinebant. Super absidas, paulo infra testudinem, fenestrae quatuor per amplae aperiebantur, ac in earum interstitiis ex musivo opere SS. apostolorum Petri ac Pauli, S. Joannis Evangelistae, S. Joannis Baptiste, SS. martyrum Laurentii et Stephani, nec non Jacobi et Philippi imagines extabant."³³

³¹ P. Ugonio, *Historia delle stationi di Roma*: Rome, 1588, p. 46, 20.

³² Severano, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 499.

³³ Rasponi, *De Basilica et Patriarchio Lateranensi*, p. 232. Cf. Grimaldi, *Cod. Ambrös.* A 178, fol. 36 20.

LATERAN.—ORATORY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.—The oratory of John the Baptist, situated on the right hand of the baptistery as you enter from the square of the Lateran, has not fallen under the pick of the hireling demolishers of Sixtus V, but it has, nevertheless, lost its primitive decoration. Clement VIII, and later Francesco Mattei, patriarch of Alexandria (1727), restored and adorned it with new paintings.³⁴ It was doubtless on the occasion of the “embellishments” of the latter that the oratory was despoiled of its mosaics. Both Panvinio and Cardinal Rasponi praise the elegance of this ornamentation: “Testudo tota è musivo pulcherrimo” (Panvinio, *op. cit.*, p. 159); “Concameratio elegantissime intersecta cernitur opere musivo” (Rasponi, *op. cit.*, p. 226). Ciampini has done better by giving us an engraving of it.³⁵

In the centre of the composition, that is to say, at the summit of the vault, was seen the nimbed Lamb standing in the midst of a garland of laurel leaves; while all around was a rich ornamentation which recalls the paintings of the catacombs,—flowers, arabesques, various birds, peacocks, doves bearing in their beak an olive-branch; lower down, on the right and left of each of the two windows of the oratory, stood an evangelist, holding open the sacred book, accompanied by the animal which is consecrated to him.

LATERAN.—ORATORY OF ST. PETER.—“Gregorius II (715–31) oratorium Osannae in patriarchio in nomine beati Petri apostoli diversis ornatum metallis, a novo fecit.” It is in these terms that the *Liber Pontificalis* (*vita S. Greg. II*, § IX) mentions the construction of this oratory. I would not have thought of translating the word *metalla* by “mosaics,” as it is often used with the meaning “marbles,”³⁶ if Onofrio Panvinio, in his manuscript history of the Lateran, had not solved the difficulty.³⁷ In the chapter entitled *De oratorio sancti Petri in patriarchio Lateranensi*, he expresses himself on this subject in the following manner: “Gregorius II, ut Anastasius tradit, oratorium diversis ornavit metallis, id est opere musivo.”

³⁴ Valentini and Gerardi, *La Patriarcale Basilica Lateranense*: Rome, 1832, t. II, p. 71: “Queste due capelle vennero ristorate ed abbellite con pittura ed altri ornamenti dalla S. M. di Clemente VIII, ed in seguito nel 1727 da Francesco dei Duchi Mattei Patriarcha di Alessandria, come risulta da lapidi che in esse legonsi.”

³⁵ *Vetora Monimenta*, t. I, pl. LXXV.

³⁶ Examples will be found in Vignoli’s edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, t. I, p. 366; t. II, p. 382.

³⁷ Barberini Library, MS. No. XLIX, 14, p. 263 v.

The opinion of a scholar so well versed as was Panvinio in the history of the ancient papal palace is worthy of serious consideration. In his time there remained no more traces of the oratory of Gregory II: "Hujus oratorii vestigium nullum quod sciam extat."

LATERAN.—ORATORY OF THE ARCHANGEL.—The *Liber Pontificalis*, so well informed as to everything that relates to the IX century, attributes to Leo III the foundation of the oratory of the Archangel in the Lateran palace: "(Leo III) fecit in patriarchio Lateranensi oratorium a fundamentis in honorem beati Archangeli, insigni opere firmissime construens, quod etiam ex musivo seu diversis picturis atque pulcherrimis marmorum metallis diversis coloribus ornavit undique."³⁸

This oratory was destroyed in 1613, according to Grimaldi.³⁹ Rasponi⁴⁰ reports that he saw a fragment of the inscription placed on the façade, which was thus worded: HOC ORATORIVM A FVNDAMENTIS CVRANTE V. LEVITA PETRI AD HONOREM FIERI JVSSIT LEO. I have not been able to discover the subject of the mosaic mentioned by the papal chronicle.

LATERAN.—TRICLINIUM OF GREGORY IV.—This Pope, who reigned from 827 to 844, added to the palace of the Lateran a triclinium whose magnificence is thus praised by the *Liber Pontificalis* (*in vita Greg. IV*, § xv): "Fecit in patriarchio Lateranensi triclinium mirae magnitudinis decoratum cum absida de musivo, seu et alias absidas duas dextra laeaque positas infra paracellarium variis historiis depictas."

SANT' AGATA IN SUBURRA.—In the apse of the church of Saint Agatha in Suburra, or "super suburram," there was still to be read, towards the close of the XVI century, the following inscription, which has been preserved by Ciacconio in his collection of drawings,⁴¹ and by Baronius in the Martyrology:⁴² FL. RICIMER V. I. MAGISTER VTRIVSQVE MILITIAE ET EX CONSVL. ORD. PRO VOTO SVO ADORNAVIT. The word *adornavit* authorizes us to believe that Ricimer did

³⁸ *In vita Leonis III*, § XCII-II, 303. ³⁹ Ambrosian Library, MS. A. 178, fol. 8 ro.

⁴⁰ *De Basilica et Patriarchio Lateranensi*. He has supplied the lacunae by means of Ugonio's *Historia delle Stationi di Roma*.

⁴¹ Vatican Library, *Latin MSS.* No. 5,407 *et seq.* It is known that this precious collection was brought to light by Command. De Rossi. Copies of Ciacconio's drawings are to be found at the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

⁴² Edition of Venice, 1621, p. 93, Feb. 5.

not build the church, but only had the mosaics executed, which, after having existed until the time of Clement VIII,⁴³ have been rescued from oblivion, thanks to the learned Ciacconio. The Arian general gained in 456 his great victory over the Alani, and it is possible that it was in consequence of a vow made on this occasion that these mosaics were executed. In any case, their origin cannot be posterior to 472, the year of Ricimer's death.

A series of thirteen drawings of the XVI century, slightly colored, each representing an isolated figure,—this is all that remains from this interesting work. The figures are those of Christ and the twelve apostles. At the beginning of the series, there is a note which I here transcribe: "In aede S. Agathae ad Suburra in abside istius ecclesiae sunt Christus et XII apostoli, sex a dextris et sex a sinistris; quod opus fieri fecit Flavius Ricimerus . . . quae pictura in mosaico antiquior multo est, ut existimo, ipso S. Gregorio P. P. Paulus IV Pont. max. non levibus rationibus permotus, solebat dicere picturas has esse veras apostolorum effigies, id quod certe comprobant sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quae omnino sunt similes iis quae pro certis et indubitatis in Vaticana basilica asservantur. Opus verniculatum seu mosaicum vulgo dictum in aede S. Agathae in Suburra, quod nuper cecidit et picturis suppletum est anno D. MDICV."⁴⁴

According to the drawings which reproduce them, the following is the order of the figures.—S. IACOBVS ALPHEI, beardless, with hair cut straight across the forehead, near the eyebrows. His costume, as well as that of all the other apostles, was composed of a bluish tunic ("stolae coerulei coloris," Ciamp. *Vet. Mon.* t. I, p. 272) across which run lengthwise two bands of a darker blue; then, a mantle shaded with brown, adorned with those enigmatical letters which have been the despair of so many archaeologists (on these figures an L is generally used); finally, sandals. His left hand is hidden under his mantle, his right is extended naturally, as if he were conversing with his neighbor. Neither he nor the other apostles have the nimbus.—S. SIMON

⁴³ Writers are not in accord as to the period when the apse of Sant' Agata in Suburra fell to ruin, and with it the mosaics. Baronius, *Annales*, 472, No. 11; and Nibby, *Roma nell' anno 1838*, p. 331; relate that it was in 1589. Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta*, t. II, p. 271; and Gregorovius, *Storia della città di Roma*, t. I, p. 262; contend, on the contrary, that it was in 1592.

⁴⁴ Martinelli was acquainted with the passage relating to Paul IV, and reproduces it in his *Diaconia S. Agatae in Suburra*, p. LVIII.

ZEOTES holds the roll (*volumen*) with both hands, the right uncovered, the left being covered by his robe; chestnut beard.—S. IACOBVS, chestnut beard and hair. His left hand is draped in the folds of his garment, the right hand raised.—S. IVDAS IACOBI: while the preceding apostles are turned towards the right, this one is turned to the left. He is having an animated discussion with St. James. His attitude is excellently drawn.—S. PHILIPPVS: hair brown, beard rather long and of the same color. It would appear that he was tonsured.—S. PAVLVS holds with his left hand the *volumen*: he extends the right hand towards Christ, as if to question him. His beard is brown and very long; hair also brown.—SALVS TOTIVS GENERIS HVMANI: the Christ is seated on the azure globe: on his left hand rests the open book, which he shows to the faithful; with the right hand, slightly raised and the palm turned outward, he appears to expound the sacred text: his gesture is full of gentleness and persuasion. His vesture consists of a blue tunie with a wide yellow *clavus*, a violet mantle, and sandals. He has long curling brown hair, silky beard divided in the middle, and a yellow nimbus.—S. PETRVS advances towards Christ with a hasty step, bearing on his mantle the key, symbol of his office. His figure is broad and robust; he has curly white beard and hair.⁴⁵—S. ANDREAS faces forward, with beard cut rather short, hair dishevelled and a brusque manner; he holds the roll (*volumen*) in his right hand, supporting it with his left hand which is veiled.—S. IOANNES faces forward, with a sentimental expression. He has long curling hair and a blond beard. With his uncovered right hand he holds the *volumen* unrolled. His physiognomy is that of a youth, and not of the old man that we see in the engraving of Ciampini.—S. THOMAS raises his hand with the last two fingers bent. His hair is cut close, and he has a brown beard.—S. MATTHÆVS: in his veiled left hand we see the *volumen*, while with his raised right hand he makes a gesture

⁴⁵ Misled by Ciampini's engraving, Abbé Martigny (*Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrét. p. 423*) thought that St. Peter wore a tiara: this is not so. The same remark applies to the supposed tiaras of the Apostles in the Baptistry of the Orthodox at Ravenna: in reality they are nothing else than folds of hangings suspended behind their heads. Here, also, one of Ciampini's engravings has led into error not only the above-named scholar (*Dictionnaire p. 45*), but also Von Quast (*Ravenna*, p. 5), Schnaase (*Gesch. d. bild. Künste*, 1st ed., t. III, p. 181), Unger (*Encyclop. Ersch & Gruber*, vol. LXXXIV, p. 391, col. 1), and Canina (*Ric. sull' architettura più propria dei tempi cristiani*: Roma, 1846, pl. CIV).

as if to demonstrate something.—*s. BARTOLOMÆVS* is slightly bent, of youthful appearance, beardless and with hair cut close.

These figures are separated in the copies at the Vatican : Ciampini had the happy idea of grouping them on the same sheet (*Vet. Mon.* t. I, pl. LXXVII) so as to reconstitute the ensemble of the mosaic. Their attitude and their gestures indicate the order in which they were originally arranged, and this project of reconstitution has every possible guarantee of trustworthiness. It shows with what talent and consummate knowledge the mosaicists of Ricimer gave animation to the scene without violating the laws of style and of monumental decoration. The idea which the artists wished to make the ruling one, is that of the procession of the apostles in two groups towards the Saviour of mankind. But at every instant comes an episode, so to speak, to interrupt the uniformity of the action and charm the fancy, without obscuring the main motive. Thus, for example, St. Jude turns back toward his neighbor, carried away by the heat of discussion ; and St. Andrew stops in front of the spectator, as if suddenly impressed by an idea. Such motives, while they accentuate the character of each one of the disciples of the Divine Master, at the same time contribute to the general composition a peculiar force and zest.

Remarkable, also, is the thoroughly antique elegance of the draperies, and the felicitous role given by the artist to the left hand, which usually holds the mantle so as to let it fall down in picturesque folds. It may be said that the entire style forms a most remarkable intermediary between the too violent action of the primitive mosaics (*e. g.* that of the Baptistry of the Orthodox at Ravenna) and the heaviness of the following period, already so near to the stiffness and immobility of the Middle Ages proper. As for the types, they show a feeling both for beauty and for character. But I think it would be dangerous to confide too blindly in these copies of the XVI century. Their author seems to have been influenced by the great creations of the Renaissance. It is to be feared that he may have seen the apostles of Saint Agatha in Suburra through the medium of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper ; the air of some of the heads recalls directly the immortal fresco of *Santa Maria delle Grazie*. However this may be, if these copies were but a feeble echo of the original, it would be none the less interesting to reproduce in more satisfactory

engravings than those of Ciampini these very rare vestiges of the Arian painting of the fifth century.

Gregory the Great (590–604), having again consecrated this church and restored it to orthodox worship, wished also to embellish it. In doing so, he employed both enamelled cubes and fresco-painting. Pope Hadrian, in his well-known letter to Charlemagne, recalls these creations of his illustrious predecessor : “Ecclesia Arianorum, cuius ipse sanctus Gregorius in dialogis suis meminit, placuit eidem sancto Gregorio ut in fide catholica, introductis illic beatis Sebastiani et sanctae Agathae martyrum reliquiis, dedicari debuisset, quod et factum est : diversis historiis ipse beatus Gregorius pingi fecit eam, tam in musivo quam in coloribus, et venerandas imagines ibidem erexit : et a tune usque hactenus venerantur.”⁴⁶ The two “images” which the anonymous author of the *Itinerary of Einsiedeln* saw in the VIII century in the church of Sant’ Agata doubtless formed a part of the works executed by St. Gregory : “Sea. Agatha ibi imagines Pauli et sanctae Mariae sub. (suburra?) Thermae Constantini.”⁴⁷ The mosaics or paintings in question remained until about the beginning of the XVII century, as is proved by a passage in Martinelli (*op. cit.*, p. LXVI) : “Gregorianum venerabile opus picturis, sacrisque imaginibus expressum permanxit ad aevum nostrum, quo edaci temporis cedens, ac fere ad confusa lineamenta redactum, M. Antonius Gozadinus albario opere perpolivit.”

It is doubly to be regretted that these works have perished, for Gregory the Great, as is well known, did not execute any great number ; preferring the works of faith to monuments in marble or brass.

SANTI APOSTOLI.—Pelagius I (555–61) began the erection of the church of the Holy Apostles (St. Philip and St. James), but he died before having finished it.⁴⁸ John III (561–74) continued and completed the work of his predecessor.⁴⁹ That this church was ornamented with mosaics is proved by a passage in the letter addressed by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne on the subject of the second council of Nicaea : “Multo amplius vero dominus Pelagius atque

⁴⁶ Labbe, *Sac. Concilia, loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ Urlichs, *Codex urbis Romae topographicus*: Wurtzburg, 1871, p. 70.

⁴⁸ *Lib. Pont., in vita Pelagi*, ed. Duchesne, p. 303.

⁴⁹ *Ibid., in vita Johan. III*, p. 305. Vignoli is in error, when he says, in his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, t. 1, p. 359, that John III finished the church begun by his predecessor Sergius.

dominus Joannes mirae magnitudinis ecclesiam Apostolorum a solo aedificantes historias diversas, tam in musivo, quam in variis coloribus cum sacris pingentes imaginibus, et a tunc usque hactenus a nobis venerantur.”⁵⁰ Nibby,⁵¹ who passes over in silence the execution of these mosaics, publishes from Marini (*Papiri diplomatici*, p. 103) two inscriptions formerly placed, the one on the arch of triumph, the other in the apse. The first is thus worded :

PELAGIVS CEPIT COMPLEVIT PAPA IOANNES
VNVM OPVS AMBORVM PAR MICAT ET MERITVM.

The apse of this church was restored by Hadrian I (*Lib. Pont. in vita Had.*, § 1) : “ Absidam cernens jam ruinae vicinam existentem cancellis ferreis eamdem absidam confirmare fecit, et ita eam renovavit.” In 886, under Stephen V, took place a new restoration, and again another under Martin V (1417–31). Finally, about 1475, Sixtus IV almost entirely rebuilt this venerable edifice. There is little probability that after this there remained anything of the mosaics of Pelagius I and John III.

EUGÈNE MÜNTZ.

[*To be continued.*]

⁵⁰ Labbe, *Sacrosancta Concilia*: ed. of Venice, 1729, t. viii, p. 1553 *et seq.*

⁵¹ *Roma nell' anno 1838; parte mod. t. i*, p. 108. These inscriptions are preserved in a MS. of the xv cent. in the Vatican Library. Cf. Martinelli, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*: Rome, 1653, p. 64 *et seq.*

MARBLE HEADS IN THE TCHINLY-KIOSK MUSEUM.

[PLATE IX.]

The two marble sculptures, a medallion and a bust, which have been admirably reproduced by M. Dujardin on PL. IX, belong to the Museum of Tehinly-Kiosk, at Constantinople.

I. The medallion (1.02 m. in diameter) is said to come from the Byzantine Forum or *Augsteon*:¹ it is a head of Medusa in relief, sculptured in that peculiarly dry and frigid style which characterizes Greco-Roman art in its later stage of development, or its decay. One striking feature in the art of that period is a tendency to ornamental regularity in the representation of the human figure. After having gradually conquered its independence from the realm of architecture and decoration, in the days of pre-Pheidian sculpture, it seems as if the declining art had felt a temptation to resume the yoke which the genius of ancient masters had shaken off. Indeed, the history of the type of Medusa, which has more than once been retraced,² may serve as an illustration of that curious evolution. In the most ancient works, particularly the black-figured vases and works in metal, the head of Medusa is an emblem of horror and dismay, something like a hideous bugbear or *ἀποτρόπαζον*; often used, besides, as a simple ornament, undoubtedly connected with a superstitious idea of prophylaxy, but without any relation to the objects on which it is represented.³ Gradually, however, the type is seen to evolve, under the increasing influence of idealism: the coarseness of expression and grotesque ugliest

¹ Reinach, *Catalogue du Musée Impérial*, 1882, No. 128.

² Levezow, *Ueber die Entwicklung des Gorgonenideals* (*Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1832, and separately, Berlin, 1833); Six, *Specimen literarium inaugurale de Gorgone*, Amsterdam, 1885 (cf. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. vi, pp. 275–286); Dumont, *Monuments grecs*, 1878, p. 22 *sqq.*; Wolters, *Gypsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, No. 1597.

³ Cf. the most ancient known marble figure of Medusa, a medallion found in Sparta (*Archäol. Zeitung*, 1881, pl. 17, 1 and p. 291; *Mittheil. des deutschen Instituts*, vol. II, p. 317). This Medusa is an architectural ornament, as is also an archaic head of Medusa found on the Akropolis of Athens (Ross, *Archäol. Aufsätze*, vol. I, pl. 8, p. 109), and a similar one from Olympia (Wolters, *Gypsabgüsse*, No. 385).

ness disappear,⁴ giving way to a two-fold conception of the Gorgon's head,—either as a symbol of intense but noble suffering, or as the image of fascinating but fatal and cruel beauty. The former is chiefly represented by the Ludovisi Medusa in Rome,⁵ the latter by the Rondanini Medusa in Munich,⁶ two masterpieces belonging, in all probability, to the end of the Alexandrine period. As a symbol of pain, the Ludovisi type was very well adapted to the adornment of sarcophagi,⁷ while on the other hand the type of the Rondanini sculpture afforded an easy motive for architectural decoration. Both these types, especially the latter, were adopted and repeatedly used by Roman art. The head of Medusa occurs on countless monuments, and finally tends to become a mere ornament, without any mythological or moral meaning attached to it. The two winglets on the top of the head, which first appear in the Alexandrine period,⁸ are always preserved in the Roman type; but the tongue is no longer thrust out, the menacing rows of teeth do not appear, and the entangled serpents forming the head-gear are generally omitted.⁹ The head is encircled, as in the Medusa of Constantinople, with thick twists of hair,¹⁰ still recalling

⁴ A legend alluded to by Pindar, which may have found greater credit in later times, praises the beauty of Medusa (*εἰπάρασ*, *Pyth.* XII, v. 28).

⁵ *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, vol. VIII, pl. 35; Dilthey, *Annali*, 1871, pp. 212-238; Lucy Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, pl. 6, p. 618; Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, p. 131. Wolters (*Gypsabgüsse*, No. 1419), while objecting to the traditional name of Medusa given to that splendid piece of sculpture, notices that Prof. Brunn decidedly maintains it.

⁶ Lützow, *Münchener Antiken*, pl. 25.

⁷ Cf. Stephan, *Compte-Rendu de la commission de Saint Pétersbourg*, 1863, p. 89. Jahn contends that the head of Medusa on sarcophagi is not meant as a symbol of death and pain, but as an *ἀπορρήτων* (*Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1854, p. 47).

⁸ Cf. Levezow, *op. laud.*, p. 87. The winglets are a euphemistic transformation of the horns which appear in archaic monuments such as *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1881, pl. 17. Cf. *Arch. Zeit.*, 1845, p. 185.

⁹ Hesiod mentions two serpents around the Gorgon's waist (*Scutum*, v. 233 *sqq.*). Pindar calls Medusa *ὅφιλης* (*Olymp.* XIII) and the Gorgons *παρθένοις ἀπλάτοις ὥφιων κεφαλαῖς* *Pyth.* XII). In the Xth Pythic ode, the head of Gorgon is expressively styled *ποκίλον κάρα δρακόντων φέβαισαν*. Aischylus speaks of the *δρακοντόμαλλοι Γόργονες* (*Prometheus*, v. 804). Cf. Apollodorus, II, 2. The entangled serpents in the Gorgon's hair are not, however, an ordinary occurrence in the works of archaic art (cf. Levezow, pp. 29, 82). One of the most ancient instances is a terracotta mask, now in Berlin, engraved at the end of Levezow's paper, pl. I, fig. 11.

¹⁰ Ovid (*Metamorph.* IV, v. 795) goes so far as to praise the beauty of Medusa's hair: . . . *Nee in tota conspectior ulla capillis*

Pura fuit. . .

the aspect of serpents, but only to those who are acquainted with the original type. Under the winglets and beneath the chin, uniting the extremities of the two terminal locks, there are circular bands which may be taken for serpents,¹¹ but are indeed, in many instances, more like taenias or neck-ties. The workmanship of the serpentine hair is perfectly regular and symmetrical, resembling an elaborate frame in wood or metal, rather than the natural waving of locks. It seems as if Medusa, no longer able to petrify her opponents, had finally petrified herself into the dull stiffness of an ornament. Such is the case with the Medusa of Constantinople. The expression of the face is neither coldly disdainful, nor painfully languid: it is harsh and almost ugly. The ugliness was probably not aimed at by the sculptor, but the harshness is certainly intentional, as may be seen from the wrinkled forehead, the frowning brow, and other details such as the ungraceful corners of the mouth. The eyes and the winglets still preserve distinct traces of blue painting; the nose is flat and vulgar, the mouth and chin are coarse, sensual, and realistic. On the whole, this elaborate piece of Roman workmanship, which has come to us in a state of perfect preservation, is, like the mythic figure it represents, a rather distant echo of Greek and Alexandrine tradition, and the only redeeming qualities which it can claim are characteristic of every art on the verge of decay: ornamental instinct and technical skill.¹²

II. The bust, which has been figured on the same plate, was found at Kyrene,¹³ and is perhaps an idealized portrait of the Empress Sabina, wife of Hadrian, who was sometimes represented under the aspect of various goddesses,¹⁴ and may have assumed in this instance the majestic appearance of Hera. It affords another illustration of the transformation and corruption of Greek models by the *fa presto* artists of imperial Rome. Although the surface of the marble has suffered a good deal from rain or dampness, the workmanship might

¹¹ The serpents forming a kind of neck-tie are often to be seen under the heads of Medusa; cf. Ross, *Archäol. Aufs.* I, pl. 8; Levezow, pl. IV, No. 44; pl. V, Nos. 47-51. The heads of the serpents projecting from beneath the winglets are very distinct in the Rondanini Medusa (Levezow, pl. V, fig. 50).

¹² A similar medallion, but of smaller proportions, was found at Pompeii, and is engraved in the *Museo Borbonico*, vol. XIII, pl. 23.

¹³ Reinach, *Catalogue du Musée Impérial*, No. 304.

¹⁴ Cf. Sabina as Ceres, in the Louvre, No. 593 (Duruy, *Histoire des Romains*, vol. V, p. 2); Sabina as Venus Genitrix, found in the Augusteum of Otricoli (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, III, pl. 8).

be praised as tolerably free and spirited, if it were not for the two locks of hair falling on either side of the neck. These locks resemble human hair but little more than do the serpentine curls of Medusa : they are metallic spirals awkwardly copied in marble. Here, again, we may observe a resemblance between late Roman clumsiness and early Greek inexperience : the graceful and lively treatment of hair was one of the last attainments of Hellenic art, and one of the first that Roman sculpture forfeited. In spite of this very great defect, the head in question is interesting as a not altogether unworthy reminiscence of the type of Hera such as it had been, according to Brunn's conjecture, created by Polykleitos. There is a striking resemblance between the head in Constantinople and the celebrated bust from the Farnese collection now in the Museum at Naples, where Brunn has recognized the influence of a Polykleitan model, whilst others prefer attributing its origin to Alkamenes.¹⁵ The fact that female heads belonging to the same series are of comparatively rare occurrence adds some value to the bust of Constantinople, which, so far as I know, has been hitherto neither described nor engraved.

SALOMON REINACH.

¹⁵ *Museo Borbonico*, vol. v, pl. 9, 2; Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, pl. 9, 1, 2; *Monumenti*, vol. VIII, pl. 1, with Brunn's article in the *Annali*, 1864, p. 297. A good wood-cut is given by Lübke, *Geschichte der Plastik*, vol. 1, p. 184.

THE TERRACOTTA HEADS OF TEOTIHUACAN.

II.

In the first part of this paper, clay portrait-heads, showing evidences of having once been attached to bodies made of a perishable substance, were discussed. In this second part the evidence of the Spanish chroniclers will be presented, showing that, at the time of the Conquest, there existed the custom of making small effigies of the dead, some of which consisted of a wooden body on which a portrait-head was mounted. As these effigies were invariably connected with mortuary customs a brief consideration of them is, first of all, necessary.

Among the Ancient Mexicans the circumstances attending the death of each individual determined the funeral ceremonies, and the form as well as the site of interment. The early writers¹ relate that they also believed the soul's future destination to be regulated by the circumstances of decease: thus "those who died a natural death, be they lord, noble, commoner or laborer, man, woman or child, were cremated, and went, after a long and difficult journey, to Mictlan, the land of the dead." The bodies of those who died of incurable and contagious diseases, or were killed by lightning or by drowning, were buried in special graves, and "went to Tlalocan, a terrestrial paradise." Finally, the warriors slain in battle or in the hands of the enemy, as well as the women who died in childbirth, went to the Sun, and extraordinary honors were paid to their remains. The court-yard of a special temple was dedicated to the interment of the women who, in the words of the old chronicler, "were canonized as saints and adored as goddesses." The skulls of the illustrious warriors were preserved, mounted on palisades, in a portion of the temple named Tzompantli.²

¹ Sahagun, *Historia*, Appendix to book III, chs. 1, 2, 3; Torquemada, *Monarquia*, vol. II, p. 530; Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 164; Clavijero, *Historia*, p. 147; Kingsborough, vol. VI, p. 227; Duran, *Historia*, vol. II, p. 114.

² Sahagun, book VI, ch. XXIX, book IX, ch. VI, Appen. to book II, in description of the great temple of Mexico; Bernal Diaz, *Histoire véridique de la Conquête*, trad.

Details will here be given only of the ceremonies connected with the first two kinds of funeral rites. In the case of those who died from natural causes³ and were cremated, an address was delivered over the body by the elders or priests whose special office it was, and who then proceeded to cut, prepare, and tie the papers with which the body was dressed. Its limbs were drawn up and it was tightly bound in its wrappings (*fig. 38*). Above this they put the raiment of the "god"^{3a} to whom the dead person had been especially devoted, or in whose temple the ceremonies were to take place.⁴ According to another writer,⁵ the body was dressed in the garb of the "god whom he had represented in life, for all noblemen did represent idoles and carried the name of one." In the accounts of the magnificent obsequies of several of the "emperors" of Mexico, it is stated that their bodies (and subsequently their effigies) were successively arrayed in

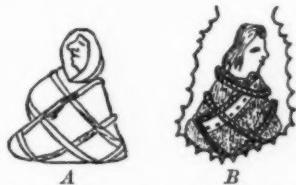


FIG. 38.—A, Orozco y Berra, *Atlas*, pl. 18; B, Mappe Quinatzin I, Aubin, *op. cit.*

the rich garments of the "four principal gods," this portion of the ritual devolving upon the highest in rank present. Describing the obsequies of the "emperor" Axayacatl, "who had represented in life our god Huitzilopochtli" (*fig. 39, B*, from Duran's *Atlas*, where this chief is depicted as dead), Padre Duran⁶ relates: "They made a large

Jourdanet, Paris, 1877, p. 252; Kingsborough, vol. vi, Codex Mendoza, pt. II, text to pl. LXXX; *Relacion de Andrés de Tápia, Documentos*, ed. Icazbalceta, vol. II, p. 583.

³ Sahagun, Appendix to book III.

^{3a} It has been necessary in the first part of the paper and in this to retain the misleading terms used by the early Spanish writers, such as "gods," emperors, monarchs, etc.

⁴ Torquemada, vol. II, p. 521.

⁵ Acosta, *op. cit.* lib. 5, p. 349, where it is also related that "the priest who did the office of the dead was decked with the markes of the same idoll." In connection with the wearing of the distinctive garb of a deity by priests, see also Sahagun, book II, ch. XXI; Motolinia, trat. I, ch. V; Duran, vol. I, p. 283, vol. II, pp. 91, 92, 106.

⁶ Vol. I, ch. XXXIX, pp. 304, 306.

arbour called *tlacochcalli*, meaning ‘house of rest or repose,’⁷ and in it they placed a statue, the portrait of the dead monarch, made of splinters of pine tied together,” on which was mounted a head, “as of a person,” decorated with feathers. They covered the image with a fine robe representing Huitzilopochtli: over this was hung the dress of the god Tlaloc, with the accessory symbolic decorations to be worn on the head or carried in the hand. “The next garment was that of the god Youalahua, and the fourth that of Quetzalcoatl.”⁸

To return to the usual ceremony: the body itself, wrapped as before described, was conveyed some days later to the court of the temple, where, before the image of the god, stood a large caldron made of lime and stone into which it was thrown and consumed by the flames of the

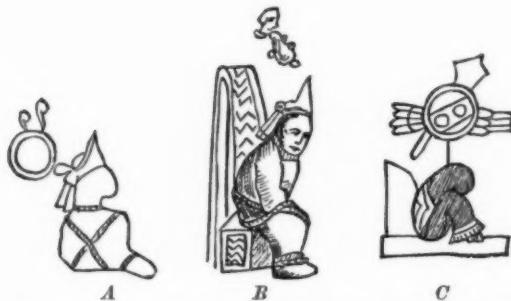


FIG. 30.—A, Mapa de Tepechpan; B, Atlas Duran; C, Vatican Codex.

“sacred wood,” the priests stirring it with long poles. When the fire burnt out, the ashes were collected, water was poured over them, and they were buried in the ground; then, according to Sahagun, “the

⁷ From the verb *cochi*=to sleep, and *calli*=house.

⁸ See, also, the account of the funeral of the same “emperor” in Tezozomoc, *Cronica Mexicana*, p. 427. The body of Ahuizotl was clothed and anointed, and “thus he became consecrated as a god, and was placed among the gods.” His remains were also consumed before Vitzilopochtli (Duran, I, p. 408). The “emperor” Tizoc was “dressed in the garb of four gods” and interred in the same place (Duran, I, p. 322). Of the same “monarch,” Tezozomoc (*op. cit.* pp. 451, 455) states that “on the day after the cremation, whilst his portrait was being carved in wood, the kings of Texcoco and Tacuba . . . proposed to adorn his body in effigy and inter it solemnly.” The following account of the funeral ceremonies, by Tetzozomoc, is of interest. It is here related that “His body was placed, in squatting posture, on a fine mat, and was covered from the shoulders with 17 finely worked, thin robes,

remaining bones were placed in a jar,⁹ . . which was then buried in a room of their dwelling," and daily offerings were made before it. At the end of a year the contents of the vessel were again burnt, the ashes buried, and the remaining fragments preserved. This was repeated until, at the end of three or four years, all was consumed, and thus the duties towards the dead came to an end. Torquemada mentions the keeping of the ashes and bones in earthen vessels (vol. II, pp. 523, 527), and among other details states: "They cut from the top of the head of the dead person a lock of hair; . . and these, with the precious green stone, the bones and ashes, were placed in a small coffer of stone or wood, finely carved and painted both inside and outside. On top of this box they put an image of the defunct, made of wood dressed and adorned, and before it they placed offerings, calling this ceremony *Quitonaltia* (from *tonalli*=portion, lit. "giving them their portion"): . . each year in his memory, they sacrificed before the coffer, quails, rabbits, birds and butterflies: they also placed before the coffer and the portrait of the dead resting on it, much incense and offerings of food and wine, flowers and roses, also the incense sticks called *acayetl*. These offerings were made once a year for four years."

Motolinia (*op. cit.*, p. 31) relates that the mourning and offerings were repeated, twenty days after the burial, and then at regular intervals of eighty days, during one year, and afterwards for four years only once a year, on the anniversary. He adds the important fact that, after death, to the name of each individual the surname *teoll* was added, meaning, as he says, "god or saint."¹⁰

From the collective evidence of the best authorities, it is therefore

over which a richer one was thrown bearing on it, beautifully embroidered, the image of Tezcatlipoca. His face was covered with a mask of gold, hollow and perfectly moulded so as to represent his physiognomy." When the remains of the "emperor" were reduced to ashes, these with the other relics were collected and placed "in a small coffer painted inside and outside with images of gods." This was tightly closed, and on it was placed a "statue carved in wood that was a perfect portrait of the 'emperor'; . . both were afterwards removed to the temple by the priests, and placed in a sort of niche" (C. M. de Bustamante, *Texcoco en los ultimos tiempos*: Mexico, 1826). See, also, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, *Cronica de Nueva Espana*, book II, p. 166, for description of an effigy of the deceased "king of Michoacan"; and Clavijero, ed. Mora, p. 192, where reasons are given for the dressing of the dead in the raiment of different gods.

⁹ Cf. Torquemada, vol. II, p. 528.

¹⁰ In corroboration of this, see Mendieta, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Sahagun, book X, ch. XXIX, § 12.

fully proved that the cremated remains of individuals who had died from natural causes were preserved, for a stated length of time, in a room of the dwelling set apart for the purpose: that, by inference, small portraits or images of the defunct, who was surnamed (such a one) *teotl*, or god, were kept with the remains, and prescribed periodical offerings placed before them. It is easy to understand how it came about that even these early writers themselves fell into the still prevalent error of supposing the Ancient Mexicans to have had in their dwellings "oratories in which they kept a number of idols, household gods that they adored and propitiated by daily offerings and sacrifices."¹¹

The true nature of these "oratories and idols" can be best understood by a careful sifting of the rather confused but very minute details, preserved by early writers, of ceremonies held during the year, on certain feasts in memory of those who had died from lightning, drowning, or certain contagious and incurable diseases, and after death went to Tlalocan.¹² "The body of such a one was not cremated, but was buried in a special grave. Twigs of the wild amaranth were laid upon his cheeks and face, and his forehead was anointed with *texutle*, a blue dye."¹³

¹¹ "Within the doors of their houses they had oratories and special rooms where they kept their idols, just as nowadays they use them for sacred images" (Duran, vol. II, p. 295). Motolinia (*tratado I*, p. 33) says: "And in many places they had what were like oratories, where they kept great quantities of idols of different forms and shapes, . . . some like men, some like women, . . . others had diverse insignia by which they knew what "devil" they represented." The same writer says: "If, a hundred years hence, one were to excavate in the courtyards of the ancient temples of idols, one would ever find idols, for they made so many. When a child was born they made an idol, at the end of a year a larger one, after four years another, and as it grew up they went on making idols; and of these the foundations and walls are full and in the courtyards there are many of them." Query: were these idols not portraits?

Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.* vol. III, p. 409, gives an interesting incident preserved in the annals of the kingdom of Texcoco, in which it is distinctly related of certain murdered individuals, that a sculptured portrait was made of each one, and this, richly dressed and adorned, was placed on the wall in a room of the palace. Commenting on these, Orozco y Berra alludes to the "custom of the Mexicans of having Penates in their habitations."

Sahagun says (appendix to book II, § 5), "In honor of the gods which they had in their houses" they performed the daily duty of sweeping the dwelling and burning incense and making offerings to "the images."

¹² Tlalocan means literally "a place in the earth or ground."

¹³ See, e. g., Sahagun, book III, ch. I, § II; Torquemada, book VI, ch. XXXVIII.

In the 13th month, *Tepeilhuill* (mountain festival), "a feast was held in honor of the mountains,"¹⁴ and images were made in honor of them, and also "in memory of those who had been drowned, killed by lightning, or who had died in such a manner that they could not be burnt, but were, instead, buried." These images were called *ecatotzin*,¹⁵ and are described thus: "They made, of pieces of wood or stick of the thickness of the wrist, the foundations of tiny figures, resembling the dolls used by the little girls of our Spanish nation." So says Torquemada; while Sahagun compares the figures to "infant boys and girls." These pieces of wood were smeared with the dough *tzoalli*, and on the top of each piece of wood¹⁶ they put "a

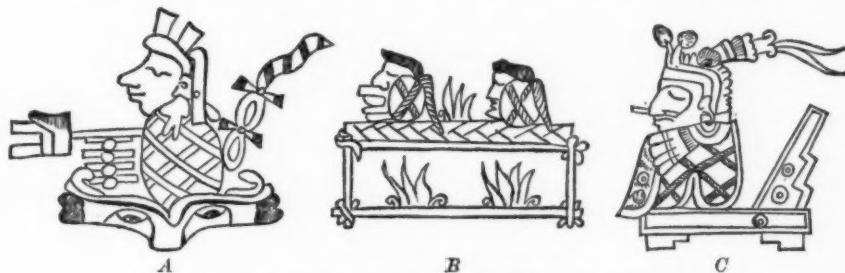


FIG. 40.—A, Fejervary Codex; B, Bodleian Codex; C, Borgian Codex.

¹⁴ Facts and quotations are taken from Sahagun, book II, chs. XIII, XXXII; and from Torquemada, vol. II, pp. 64, 279.

¹⁵ "According to M. Remi Siméon (Sahagun, trad. Jourdanet et Siméon, p. 71), this word is the plural of *ecatolli*, the diminutive of *ecatl* = wind." The name "little wind" seems, however, in connection with these images, absolutely meaningless.

Drawing attention to the facts, (1) that Fray Sahagun wrote down this word under the dictation of an Indian; and (2) that "the Mexicans do not pronounce the letter *m*, . . . and thus say *exico* instead of *Mexico*" (Fray Andres de Olmos, *Arte de la Lengua Mexicana*: Mexico, 1547, parte III, cap. vi), it seems possible that the actual word may have been formed from *mecatl* = cord. This is the common root of *mecayotia* = "to bind something with cords"; and *mecayotl* = "blood-relationship" (Molina, *Vocabulario*). A diminutive formed of either of these would, in accordance with the comprehensive character of the Nahuatl language, embrace the double meaning of the two words; and thus *mecayotonlli* would mean "kindred, something small, bound with cords."

The reader who is acquainted with the vicissitudes of Fray Sahagun's original text will admit the possibilities of even greater errors in the orthography of names.

¹⁶ The Spanish word *trozo*, here used, is translated "piece of a thing cut off;" or "a log of wood." The dough *tzoalli* is repeatedly mentioned by Sahagun and Duran, as "the material used by the natives for the manufacture of idols." The latter

head like that of a person." These images were then placed on "certain snakes made of wood or of the roots of trees, with a snake-head neatly carved on them." "Long rolls of the same dough were laid before them; these were called *yomio* (his bones)."

The most trustworthy of sources, the native pictorial representations, give us the actual appearance and the true character of the images described above; and in figures 40, 42, 45, 46, are numerous examples, taken from various sources, of mummied dead, drawn in a conventional manner, which even at the present day can scarcely find more apt comparison than to a *bambino* wrapped in its swaddling clothes. In fig. 40, A, is a woman's body thus tied, recognizable as such from the head-dress and her instrument of labor, the *mellatl*, on which the maize is even now ground, lying overturned before her. It is resting upon a "carved head of a snake," in which experts in Mexican picture-writings will recognize a well-known and often-used

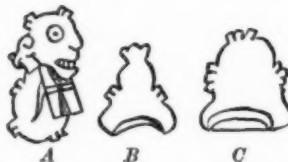


FIG. 41.—A, Vienna Codex; B and C, Mapa de tributo (Lorenzana).

symbol, meaning "in the earth or cave." This alone points to the probable reason why this carved symbol accompanied the images of those who were buried in the ground, and gives us the important knowledge that the *ecatotontin* were, undoubtedly, miniature effigies of the dead, and that,—when these "were placed with much ceremony on altars in the oratory, and they offered them *tamales* and other food, burned incense before them, and adorned them with flowers, also sang songs in their praise, and drank wine in their honor,"—it was but an observance of prescribed funeral ceremonies in memory of those

explains, more than once, that it was made of amaranth seeds and maize kneaded with black honey (vol. II, p. 197). Besides being edible, this material evidently possessed the valuable properties of plasticity, of retaining, while hardening, the shape into which it was moulded, and of fixing permanently objects set into it. Apparently the latter qualities alone caused it to be smeared on the "foundations of wood" so as to attach the papers afterwards wrapped about them, and to hold firmly in place the surmounting head which was set into the adhesive mass.

whose mortal remains were missing from the family resting place, but whose images were kept there and held in veneration.

The true character of the "oratories" is thus established; and, reviewing Fray Motolinia's testimony (see Note 11 and the whole of the passage quoted from), we see not only that such funeral chambers were found in the dwelling itself, but that "public ones" existed; and we can account for the very great number of so-called "idols," found in these and in the court-yards, by the natural inference, that the images of the dead were never destroyed, but were allowed to accumulate in stated localities.

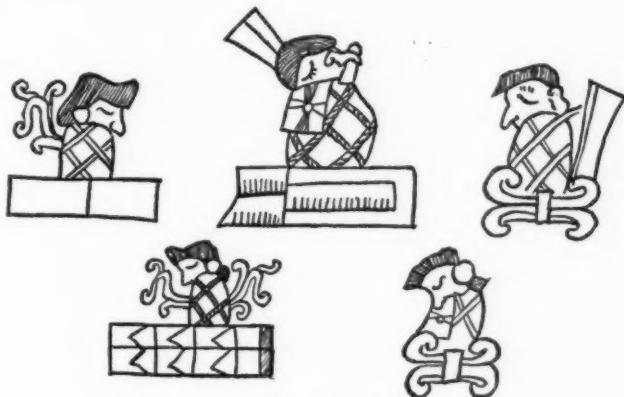


FIG. 42.—Vienna Codex.

It was believed that diseases such as gout, inflammation, lameness, paralysis, dropsy, were caused by the cold proceeding from the lofty snow-capped peaks that surround the Valley of Mexico. In the 16th month of the year *Atemoztli* (the falling of the waters), when the season of storms and rain set in, a feast was held in which a kind of propitiatory offering was made by those suffering from and exposed to these ills. The offering consisted of small edible images made of the dough *tzoalli*, used for similar purposes in other religious ceremonies. It was unlawful for any one but a priest to make these. He shaped them "like a mountain, but with the semblance of a person," giving them teeth of pumpkin-seeds and eyes of round black beans. These were decked with the consecrated papers on which the sacred

gum *ulli* had been dropped, that were hung "about the neck of the little images like a deacon's stole."

After certain ceremonies, these images were broken and the fragments exposed to the sun to dry, upon the roof of the house, whence they were taken each day and eaten little by little, "probably in the belief that cure or prevention was thus obtained." These images were, it is expressly stated, named *tepeme* or *tepietli*.¹⁷ In the Vienna Codex¹⁸ (Kingsborough, vol. II) the writer has found representations of these, one of which is given in *fig. 41, A.* It will be observed that it exactly answers the above description, and moreover that its contour is the well-known conventional broken line used in the drawing of mountains themselves in other Mexican picture-writings, two illustrations of which are given (*fig. 41, B, C.*).



FIG. 43.—Seated figure. Author's collection.



FIG. 44.—Author's Collection.

Returning to the details, collected by Fray Sahagun, of the observances held in the "mountain festival," internal evidence shows that

¹⁷ *Tepeme* is the plural of mountain. The word *Tepietli* occurs in Bustamante's edition of Sahagun, vol. I, p. 72. In *Tepeton*, translated "little ones," the meaning is misconceived, as is evident by comparison with the two preceding words. "This was the name given to the Penates and to the idols that represented them" (Clavijero, ed. Mora, p. 156). Cf. the mention of "Lares" in Torquemada, vol. II, p. 64.

¹⁸ The Vienna Codex, as well as the two MSS. preserved in the Library at Oxford, and known as *Arch. Bodl. H. 75* and *Arch. Sedd. A. 2*, have been considered by Orozco y Berra (*Historia*, vol. I, p. 53), and by more recent Mexican authorities, to be "of mixteco *tzapoteco*" provenance. The writer, who has made a special study of these documents and taken particular care to compare the phonetic symbols contained in them with those in recognized Mexican codexes, does not hesitate to affirm that the three documents in question are purely Mexican, and are to be interpreted by means of the Nahuatl language.

the true nature of the *ecatotontin* was, purposely perhaps, withheld from him, and that, at all events he has confounded them with the above-described edible, cure-working *tepeme* (fig. 41, A). He understood that both kinds of images were made at the above feast, and it was but natural that confusion should have arisen, and certain rites assumed to have been held in honor of the *tepeme*; whereas, the identity of these rites with the funeral ceremonies already described, and the totally different character of the *tepeme* lead to the conviction that they were in reality performed in memory of the dead before their portrait-effigies, the *ecatotontin*. This enables us to comprehend many valuable details connected with such effigies, which complete the knowledge we have of them. Thus it is erroneously said, of the edible images, "their dress was according to the image of the god they represented" (book I, ch. XXI): "On both sides they covered the images with the papers called *tetcuitl*, and put crowns of feathers on their heads" (book II, ch. XXXII). These papers are to be seen on both forms of images; see figures 41 and 42.

Finally, the size of the images is definitely ascertained by the following passages: "food was offered to each one (of these images), and the *tamales* they gave them were very small, in keeping with the images themselves, which were small. The food was placed in diminutive plates . . two little cup-shaped gourd vessels were filled with *pulque* and put before them" (book II, ch. XXXV).¹⁹

A few words may now be said about the clay heads fractured at the neck, found at Teotihuacan, briefly alluded to in Part I of this paper, p. 159. Many of these exhibit the same character of workmanship, of head-gear, and of facial individuality, as the heads that form the subject of this article, but differ from them in offering unmistakable evidence of having been attached to bodies of clay. In some specimens the head is found in bas-relief on a portion of a flat thin background, and this probably formed part, at one time, of a complete representation of a corpse, such as shown in the specimen

¹⁹ "This accursed beverage (*pulque*, the fermented juice of the Agave) was a special offering to the gods, and in several sacrifices and offerings I came across (besides eatables) feathers, copal and other childish things, such as toys of bone, and little dishes of terracotta, and also beads; I found very small jars of *pulque* as well" (Duran, vol. II, p. 291). Light is hereby thrown upon the probable reason for the multitude of diminutive earthen vessels found in the ancient graves of Mexico. They have generally been thought to be children's toys, and to mark the burial-place of children.

from the writer's collection (*fig. 43*). Its seated position coincides with the testimony of the *Conquistador Anónimo* as to the mode of burial (ch. xxiv, ed. Icazbalceta).

Some of the fractured heads are broken across the base of the flat broad neck, on which traces of ornamentation exist. These may have belonged to the entire figures of clay, the existence of which is attested by innumerable fragments of limbs, hands, and feet, and of bodies over which draperies of clay were placed. These fragments would seem to indicate another form of effigy, in which the whole human figure was executed. Not having seen one of these entire, the writer has been unable to form a definite opinion of them, and is much more inclined to think that such heads were broken from the peculiar mummy-shaped objects so plentiful in collections. These are of a



FIG. 45.—*Arch. Bodl. H. 75.*

single conventional form, invariably display a broad neck-ornament, and are pierced transversely in two places.

In *figure 44* is shown a possible manner of passing a cord through these perforations, by which its ends remain free for suspension, and the body assumes the familiar swaddled form invariably connected with representations of the dead. That such were actually suspended is proved by Torquemada, who says "in honor of the Lares (*Tepicotons*), dolls made of wool, in the shape of infant boys and girls, were hung in the crossways; . . these were similar in appearance to the dolls made in honor of the mountain gods."²⁰ Thus, after following a distinct line of research, we find ourselves again confronted

²⁰ The following passage from Duran (vol. II, p. 274) evidently refers to the same custom: "On this the first day of the third month, Tozozontli, there was practised an abuse and superstition which I have actually seen in many places, indeed in almost all, at the present day. It is that, above their cultivated patches, they stretched cords from tree to tree, and from these, at certain intervals, suspended

by the *ecatotzin*, the effigies of the dead; and we become convinced that with them alone rests the solution of the problem.

Numberless relics of various kinds, found in the same locality, are evidently connected with funeral ritual. Thus, fragments of large and small earthen vessels, the grotesque masks and heads of animals that ornamented them, spindle-whorls, beads of bone and stone, flakes of obsidian, arrow and spear heads, all seem to prove that burial customs were here observed. Finally, numerous little vessels, most of which are of coarse pinched clay containing two narrow deep cavities, show by their peculiar form their adaptability to hold the incense sticks, the burning of which constituted the most frequent of

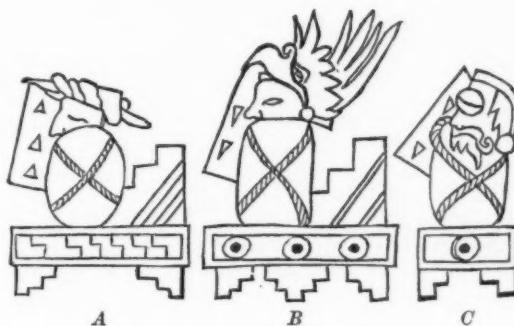


FIG. 46.—*Arch. Selden, A. 2.*

all offerings. That Teotihuacan was a place of burial, is a fact frequently mentioned by the early writers, but their testimony seems to have been lost sight of; and the opinion that it was used for this purpose at the time of the Conquest has never, to the writer's knowledge, been expressed. Considering the antiquity of the Pyramids, the conclusion to which the foregoing investigation naturally leads is of no ordinary interest.²¹

little idols, adding rags, or something or other, so that those who do not know or understand should think that these are scarecrows or children's toys: in reality it is but superstition and abuse."

²¹ The light thrown upon the existence of a form of ancestor-worship among the Ancient Mexicans, by this investigation, is one worthy of further consideration, and it is the writer's intention to present the materials collected upon this subject in connection with Teotihuacan as a place of burial.

From the statements here presented the following conclusions are drawn: (1) that, at the time of the Conquest, it was the prescribed and common custom to make effigies of the dead which reproduced in miniature the form of the bound body and the insignia of a deity with which it was invariably decked:²² (2) that, judging from the native pictures, such distinctive insignia were confined to the head alone, whilst the body was of a plain, conventional shape; one method of making it being of a piece of wood covered with papers on which, by means of an adhesive substance, a head, at times decorated with feathers, was set (*figs. 45, 46*): (3) that these effigies were of diminutive size, and existed in countless numbers in many localities: (4) that the peculiarities of the terracotta heads found at Teotihuacan, and the conclusions to which the study of them leads, fully justify the inference that they were at one time mounted on bodies similar in appearance to those described: (5) that this inference affords a satisfactory explanation of the existence of these heads, of their head-gears like those of Mexican "deities," and of the impressions which they show of a decoration that has been lost, and also accounts for their shape, size, and number:—and this explanation is offered as the solution of the "enigma of the many heads."

ZELIA NUTTALL.

²² Thus, the head-dress of one of the mummied bodies given in *fig. 46, A*, shows that a woman is represented, as will be seen by comparison with *figs. 26, 27* in Part I of this article. *C*, of *fig. 46*, exhibits the Tlaloc symbols found in the clay head illustrated in *fig. 21*, Part I. This circumstance is rendered of special interest by Clavijero's statement: "He who met his death by drowning was dressed like the idol of Tlaloc" (ed. Mora, p. 192).

PROCÈS VERBAL DE L'OUVERTURE DES MOMIES DE SETI I ET SEQENENRA TAÂAQEN.¹

L'an 1886 et le 9 Juin, correspondant au sept de Ramadhan 1303 de l'Hégire.

En présence de MM. le Général Stephenson, commandant l'armée anglaise d'occupation, Garnier de Heldewier, agent et consul-général de Belgique en Egypte, le Général Comte della Sala Pacha et Madame della Sala, Eugène Grebaut directeur général des fouilles et antiquités de l'Egypte, Dr. Fouquet de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris, Insinger, Hervé Basile.

Par les soins de MM. Gaston Maspéro, ancien directeur des fouilles et antiquités de l'Egypte, Émile Brugsch Bey, conservateur, et Urbain Bourriant, conservateur-adjoint du Musée de Boulaq, il a été procédé dans la Salle dite Salle-Copte au dépouillement des deux momies qui portent au catalogue imprimé les numéros 5227 et 5232 et proviennent de la cachette de Deir-el-Bahari.

La momie No. 5227, extraite la première de sa cage en verre est celle du roi Seqenenra Taâaqen, XVII^e Dynastie Thébaine, ainsi qu'il résulte de l'inscription tracée sur le couvercle du cercueil à l'encre rouge, puis retouchée à la pointe. Deux grands linceuls en toile grossière mal attachés, la revêtaient des pieds à la tête, puis on rencontrait quelques pièces de linge négligemment roulées et des tampons de chiffons maintenus par des bandlettes, le tout gras au toucher et pénétré d'une odeur fétide. Ces premières enveloppes une fois levées, il nous resta entre les mains une sorte de fuseau d'étoffe d'environ 1.82m. et tellement mince qu'il semblait impossible qu'un corps humain pût y trouver place. Les deux dernières épaisseurs de toile étaient collées l'une à l'autre par les parfums et adhéraient

¹ Through the kindness of M. Ménant we have received from M. Maspéro, former director of antiquities in Egypt, a copy of the official report of the opening, in the Museum of Boulaq, of two royal mummies. We publish it in full, and tender our cordial thanks to the eminent Egyptologist. The two mummies were found, with several others, at Deir-el-Bahari, in July 1881, but had not yet been opened from lack of a suitable repository. This find was described by M. Maspéro in an important monograph (*La trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari. 20 photographies par E. Brugsch. Texte par G. Maspéro. Cairo, 1881*), to which readers are referred for details of the entire discovery. A similar *procès verbal* of the opening of the mummies of Rhamses II and III has just appeared in the *Revue Archéologique* of July-August.

étroitement à la peau : on les fendit au couteau et le corps entier parut au jour. La tête était renversée en arrière et inclinée fortement sur la gauche ; de longues mèches de cheveux éparses sur le front cachaient à demi une large plaie qui traversait la tempe droite un peu au dessus de l'arcade sourcillière. Les lèvres grand ouvertes étaient retractées de manière à former un anneau presque rond à travers lequel sortent les dents de devant et les gencives ; la langue était prise et mordue entre les dents. Les traits contractés violemment portaient encore une expression d'angoisse très reconnaissable. Un examen minutieux révéla l'existence de deux autres blessures. L'une faite par une massue ou par une hache d'armes avait entamé la joue gauche et brisé la mâchoire inférieure : les dents de côté étaient à découvert. L'autre dissimulée par les cheveux s'ouvre au sommet de la tête un peu au dessus de la blessure du front : un coup de hache dirigé de haut en bas avait détaché un énorme copeau d'os et produit dans la boîte du crâne une longue fente par laquelle une partie du cerveau avait dû s'écouler. La position et l'aspect des blessures permettent de rétablir d'une manière presque certaine la scène finale de la vie du roi; Taâaqen atteint une première fois à la mâchoire tombe étourdi ; les ennemis se précipitent sur lui et deux coups portés tandis qu'il est à terre, l'un de hache au sommet du crâne, l'autre de lance ou de dague au dessus de l'œil, l'achèvent presque aussitôt. Nous savions qu'il avait fait la guerre aux Pasteurs : nous ne savions pas qu'il fut mort sur le champ de bataille. Les Egyptiens sortirent vainqueurs du combat qui s'engagea autour de leur chef puisqu'ils réussirent à le relever et à l'emporter. Le corps momifié rapidement sur place fut expédié à Thèbes où il reçut la sépulture. Ces détails nous expliquent et l'aspect saisissant qu'il présente et les irrégularités qu'on remarque dans l'embaumement. La poitrine et les côtes serrées à outrance par des gens pressés se sont brisées et ne forment plus qu'un paquet de débris noirâtres au milieu duquel les vertèbres sont éparses. Le bassin est en pièce, les bras et les jambes sont désarticulés. La décomposition avait dû commencer déjà au moment où les embaumeurs se mirent à l'œuvre : une large plaque blanchâtre entoure la plaie du front et semble n'être qu'une masse de chair mortifiée. La momie préparée à la hâte n'a pas bien résisté aux influences destructrices du dehors, les vers en ont percé l'enveloppe et des larves de nécrophore ont laissé leur coque dans les tresses de cheveux. Taâaqen avait environ quarante ans quand il succomba. Il était grand, élancé, d'une vigueur remarquable à en juger par ce qui reste des muscles de l'épaule et du thorax. Il avait la tête petite et allongée en tonneau, bien garnie de cheveux noirs, minces, ronds, frisés en longues mèches, l'œil était large et enfoncé, le nez droit et large à la racine, les pommettes proéminentes, la mâchoire forte, la bouche moyenne un peu avancée garnie de dents saines et d'un bel émail. L'oreille a dis-

paru et l'on ne voit aucune trace de barbe ni de moustache. Tiouaqen devait ressembler singulièrement aux Barabras d'aujourd'hui, et tout en lui semble indiquer une race moins mélangée d'éléments étrangers que celle des Ramsès.

Le cercueil No. 5232 renfermait la momie de Seti 1^{er}, troisième roi de la XIX^e dynastie et père de Ramsès II comme en font foi les procès verbaux de l'an VI et de l'an XVI de Hrihor, de l'an X de Pinotmou 1^{er} enregistrés sur le couvercle. L'appareil de bandelettes et de linceuls qui l'enveloppait était disposé de la même façon que sur la momie de Ramsès II; à moitié environ de l'épaisseur totale, une inscription hiératique en deux lignes tracée à l'encre noire nous apprit que l'an IX, le deuxième mois de "Pirit le 16 fût le jour où on rhabilla le roi Menmari (Seti 1^{er}) v. s. f." Une autre inscription tracée sur une des bandelettes ajoute que le linge employé à l'emballotement avait été fabriqué par le premier Prophète d'Ammon Menkhopirri en l'an VI, ce qui nous donne la dernière restauration subie par la momie du conquérant. Le corps présente à peu près le même aspect que celui de Ramsès II. Long, décharné, jaune-noir, les bras croisés sur la poitrine, les parties génitales ont été détachées à l'aide d'un instrument tranchant. La tête était couverte d'un masque épais de toile fine noircie par le goudron et qu'on dut enlever au ciseau. M. Alexandre Barsanti chargé de cette délicate opération fit sortir de cette masse informe la plus jolie tête de momie qu'on ait jamais vue au Musée. Les sculpteurs de Thèbes et d'Abydos ne flattaient pas Pharaon quand ils lui donnaient ce profil délicat, doux et souriant que les voyageurs admirent: la momie a conservé après trente-deux siècles la même expression qu'avait le vivant. Ce qui frappe tout d'abord quand on la compare à celle de Ramsès II c'est la ressemblance étonnante du père et du fils, nez, bouche, menton, les traits sont les mêmes, mais plus fins, plus intelligents, plus humains chez le père. Séti 1^{er} est comme le type idéalisé de Ramsès II. Il dut mourir vieux, la tête est rase, les sourcils sont blancs et l'état du corps accuse la soixantaine et bien passée, ce qui confirme l'opinion des savants qui lui attribuent un très long règne. Le corps est sain, vigoureux, pourtant les doigts noueux portent des traces évidentes d'arthritisme; les deux dents qu'on aperçoit sous la pâte qui emplit la bouche sont blanches et bien entretenuées.

G. MASPERO.

Fait à Boulaq, Juin 1886.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

I.

During the winter, excavations were undertaken, with satisfactory results, on the Palatine hill, the cradle of Rome and afterwards the favorite residence of the Caesars. They were commenced and are being continued on the slope of the hill opposite the Velabrum, between the churches of S. Maria Liberatrice and San Teodoro.

On this hill, more than eight centuries before Christ, some Latin shepherds from the Alban mounts founded a rude village, a record of which has been preserved in the legend of Evander entertaining Aeneas and showing him the other villages on the neighboring heights. The village of these Latin settlers was afterwards transformed into a fortified city by a bold shepherd afterwards named Romulus, and, on the submission of the neighboring inhabited centres, formed the city of Rome: on this hill the primitive enceinte of the city, called from its form *Roma quadrata*, was long preserved.

Students of the topography of the city know that the enceinte of *Roma quadrata* on the Palatine can be established, from a well-known passage of Tacitus describing the pomerium, from the configuration of the hill, and from the few remains of the primitive walls. The four sides were approximately oriented according to the Etruscan rite: the north faced the *Velabrum*, the east the *Forum Romanum*, the south the *Coelian*, and the west the *Vallis Murcia*. Each of these sides had a gate corresponding to the four points noted by Tacitus (*Ara Consi*, *Curiae veteres*, *Sacellum Larum*, *Forum Romanum*), and the sites may be recognized in the natural accesses to the mount and in certain openings preserved afterwards as entrances to the Imperial palace. The names of only two out of the four gates are known, the *Mugonia*, and the *Romana*: we will name the others conventionally from the neighboring monuments. In the 1st (N.) side was the *Porta Romana*; in the 2nd, the *Mugonia*; in the 3rd, that of the *Septizonium*; and in the 4th, that of the *Lupercale*.

I shall speak particularly of the *porta Romana* and the neighboring localities where the above-mentioned discoveries have taken place. The

position of this gate is established by archaeologists as on the N., just above the church of S. Maria Liberatrice. Varro says (*De L. L. vi*, 24), "Hoc sacrificium fit in Velabro, qua in novam viam exitur, . . non longe a porta romana." From it led the *nova via*, according to the same writer (*De L. L. v*, 164), "porta romana ab Roma dicta quae habet gradus in nova via." As the *nova via* started in the Velabrum, and, hugging the east side towards the Forum, led to the *porta Mugonia*, the *porta Romana* should be placed on the N., and, as on this side, just above S. Maria Liberatrice, there exists an ancient entrance to the Imperial palace, this is probably its identical site.

The discoveries of three years ago, when the House of the Vestals came to light, confirmed this theory. A portion was then found of the *nova via* which divided the *locus Vestae* from the part of the Imperial palace added by Caligula, and to it led the rapid incline mentioned in Varro as descending from the *porta Romana*. A new proof of this position is found in Prof. Lanciani's studies on the temple of Victory, which gave its name to the *Clivo della Vittoria*: he found in Bianchini's work that this temple arose over S. Maria Liberatrice. The late excavations have laid bare other remains of the primitive enceinte of Romulus along the northern side opposite the Velabrum, and they follow exactly a line that joins on to the opening of the imperial period above S. Maria Liberatrice. These remains are always of the same construction as those already known, *i. e.*, large square masses of tufa *uniti a contrasto*. Here then arose that gate whose origin is anterior to Romulus himself, and which, according to Guidi's learned researches, belonged to the primitive Alban village and took its name from the river *Rumon* towards which it led, and which also gave a name to the city itself.

This being settled, it follows that the ancient road, at the bottom of which the gate opens, is the *Clivus Victoriae*, one of the oldest streets of the Palatine, represented in the Severian plan of the city: for Festus says that the *Porta Romana* rose "in infimo clivo Victoriae." The excavations, near this slope, uncovered the polygonal pavement of an ancient road which led down from the gate towards the Velabrum, passing behind the round church of San Teodoro. This cannot be the continuation of the *Clivus Victoriae* itself, as it would be in contradiction with the ancient texts and the topography: consequently, the *Clivo della Vittoria* was a street in the interior of *Roma quadrata* which led up to and ended at the *Porta Romana*. The road just now discovered is that which led from the Velabrum to the *Porta Romana*. Some archaeologists have considered it to be part of the *nova via*, but this is impossible for various reasons: (1) it was only connected by *steps* with the *Porta Romana* (*see* Varro), and entered the city by the *Mugonian gate*; (2) the *nova via* was joined to the

via sacra by a descending flight of steps,¹ which was first recognized by myself in the new fragment of the Capitoline plan discovered in 1882. Consequently, under the N. point of the Palatine, three levels must be distinguished, indicated by three roads: in the lower, the *via sacra*, passing by the temple of Vesta; in the 2nd, the *nova via*, found three years ago; in the 3rd, the *Clivo della Vittoria*, ending at the Porta Romana, before which, on the left (facing the gate), the staircase descended to the *nova via*, and on the right, by a gentle incline, the road now found led towards the Velabrum. The recognition of this topographical arrangement is made necessary also by the very position of the *Locus Vestae*.

These points being determined, I will return to the newly-discovered road, leading to the Porta Romana, which might well be called "Clivus portae Romanae." Its antiquity is proved by the discovery under it of a *cloaca* which follows its entire length. It is excavated in the tufa, its section is 1. by 1.70 met., and it has a vault composed of five square blocks, also of tufa, arranged in layers: this method of construction points to a very remote period, and is met with, for example, in the Mamertine prisons. In the sides of the gallery, which has already been cleared out to a length of 60 metres, there open up, at regular intervals, side-openings serving as outlets to minor passages, and all the waters were then drained off into the *cloaca maxima*, which passes, at a short distance, in the Velabrum. It appears to me that this gallery under the road of the Porta Romana should be referred to an extremely early date, and that it is, consequently, of especial importance for the study of the ancient hydraulic constructions, and the system of drainage, of primitive Rome.

Along the road there appeared many ruins, and others, already partly visible but filled with earth, were more uncovered. Among the latter were some piers formed of masses of tufa covered afterwards with brick walls, in which the authors of the *Guida del Palatino* proposed to recognize the *porticus Catuli*, an important monument of the vii cent. of Rome, commemorating the wars with the Cimbri. Now that these ruins can be better examined, it does not seem to me that these piers could have belonged to a portico, (1) because it is now seen that they back on to the natural rock and could not serve as a passage to any building; and (2) because they are so close to the newly-discovered road, that no space is left for a house to which the portico could belong. Bearing in mind that the N. wall of *Roma quadrata* passed just by the line of piers, and that the latter are of a construction identical with that of the walls of Romulus,

¹Ovid, in describing the matron descending toward the temple of Vesta, says, "qua nova romano nunc via juncta foro est, huc pede matronam vidi descendere nudo: obstupui, tacitus sustinuque gradum (*Fast.*)."

and join on to them, I put forward the conjecture that these piers may be the remains of the towers or buttresses which defended this part of the *enceinte*, all the more that this position is close to the gate. This I propose more as a suggestion, as it could not be satisfactorily proved except on the spot and with exact drawings at command. The ruins themselves were entirely transformed in Imperial times by being surrounded with brick-work, and by the use of the spaces between the piers for taverns, etc. If my conjecture should prove correct, then we would expect a similar set of buttresses near the other gates, and we should become acquainted with a hitherto unknown detail of the most ancient fortification of primitive Rome.

As for the portico of Catulus, adorned with the spoils of the Cimbri conquered by him and Marius at the battle of Vercelli, it is highly probable, as Visconti and Lanciani have pointed out, that it was in this neighborhood, where is also to be placed the house of Cicero, which, the great orator himself tells us, was near this triumphal portico, "vix pars medium mearum decima ad Catuli porticum accessit" (*Pro Domo*, 44): this accords with these other words of his, "in conspectu totius urbis domus est mea" (*ibid.* 47). In fact, the N. declivity of the Palatine overlooks the Velabrum and the Forum, and is opposite the Capitol. This being the opinion of archaeologists, it gave rise, at the commencement of the recent excavations, to the rumor that the house of the prince of Roman orators had actually been found, and strangers were shown as such a large dwelling-house recently discovered along the road on the left, going towards the Porta Romana. But this denomination is quite without foundation, as the construction of the house in question shows it to belong to the II or III century of our era. It consists of a number of chambers of brick-work with pavements in *opus spicatum* and black and white mosaic; and in one of the rooms were found two bronze statuettes representing the two Mithraic genii that symbolize the two equinoxes. This house, quite independent of the Imperial palace, should be regarded as one of the *insulae* of the X Region of Augustus.

Some other discoveries were also made during the excavations on the *clivo*: on the right, under the substructures of the *Orti Farnesiani*, traces of an ancient house built on the natural tufa which is chiselled all around it; on the left, many brick walls connecting with the large house above-mentioned, and also a large and thick wall of *opus incertum*, a method of construction of the Republican period, preceding the *opus reticulatum*, and extremely rare in Rome.

In conclusion, the excavations have confirmed the topography of the northern part of the Palatine relating to the Porta Romana and the primitive walls, and have brought to light a most ancient road communicating

between this gate and the Velabrum, drained by an early subterranean passage, and adorned later with noble edifices.

II.

Important excavations have taken place during last winter in the ancient catacomb of San Sebastiano on the Via Appia. The history of this catacomb is of special interest, as the veneration for it has continued uninterruptedly, even during the Middle Ages when all other cemeteries were abandoned and forgotten. Its origin goes back almost to apostolic times before the existence of the greater part of the Christian catacombs: and according to an early tradition the bodies of the apostles Paul and Peter were hidden here shortly after their martyrdom. This is asserted by a hymn of Damasus (iv cent.) which was to be seen in the crypts, by a letter of Gregory the Great, by the itineraries, martyrologies, etc. Around the crypt in which these bodies are said to have had a temporary resting-place were grouped many tombs of the faithful; and, when St. Sebastian was martyred under Diocletian, his remains were buried here "apud vestigia apostolorum." His tomb was transformed into a sumptuous basilica, and around it were grouped many sepulchral cells and mausolea, of which some picturesque ruins still remain. To it was given the name *apud accubitoria*, or *sepulchra christianorum*, and by a hybrid formation *cataumbas*, *in catacumbis* and *catacumbe*: this was the origin of a term that came to be applied to all ancient Christian cemeteries. Though these small catacombs of San Sebastiano always remained distinct from the great neighboring ones of Callixtus and Praetextatus, when the latter were abandoned in the early Middle Ages, all the veneration of the faithful was concentrated on the grottos of St. Sebastian which, through proximity to the basilica, remained accessible, and by a singular misnomer became known through the Middle Ages as the cemetery of Callixtus. Only thirty years ago was this delusion dispelled by the discovery of the real catacombs of Callixtus.

Last winter Comm. de Rossi in the name of the Commission of sacred archaeology counselled the Ministry of public instruction, guardian of the basilica and crypt of S. Sebastiano, to undertake there some regular excavations. These were commenced on the first floor of the hypogaeum at a point where the opening of a *lucernario* was already visible among the ruins. Under this, three large chapels were brought to light excavated in the tufa with the usual loculi and arcosolia in the walls, on which there also remained the inscriptions placed there by the early Christians. On one of the arcosolia is a marble slab on which is engraved a dove holding the olive branch between two monograms of Christ, a symbol of the soul

at peace in heaven. The largest of the crypts probably contained the tomb of a martyr, as near the end-wall was found a colonnette of the form of those which are known to be used for the placing of lamps kept burning in honor of a saint's tomb. Under the pavement of this chapel there came to light several tombs made there when the walls were already full of bodies. In one of these was found a real archaeological curiosity: it is a tile used in the construction of the tomb, on which a Latin inscription was traced when the clay was still fresh. It records the ordering from Julius, by one Benevento, of four hundred tiles to be taken to a certain place: *BENEVENTO TEGVLAS INDIXIT IVLIO NO. CCCC VT DEFERANTVR AD POR NEAPO* (the latter abbreviation being doubtless meant for *ad portum Neapolitanum*): that is, to a depository of terracottas of this name, which must have been, like so many others already known, along the banks of the Tiber.

After the uncovering of these crypts and a few neighboring ambulacula, the work was concentrated on a point, but slightly distant from this story, where had been already seen traces of a staircase descending towards a story below. This staircase is broad and grandiose, its steps cut in the tufa being covered with stone: it was one of those state-staircases, built in the centuries of peace for the use of pilgrims, leading to the tomb of some illustrious martyr. This conjecture was strengthened by the fact that at the head of the stairs were the ruins of a building, doubtless an ancient oratory; and it is known that a basilica or an oratory was always placed at the opening of these main entrances. Up to the present time the bottom of the long staircase has not been reached, so that the results of the excavations will not appear until their renewal during next winter. In the mean time, it may be noted that, besides St. Sebastian whose tomb was turned into the basilica, a number of martyrs whose names are recorded in the early itineraries were entombed here. Among these the first rank was taken by bishop St. Quirinus and St. Eutochius, celebrated by Pope Damasus in a beautiful hymn preserved *in situ*.

Half-way down the above-mentioned stairway there was found, on the right, a side gallery: on the removal of the earth which filled it up to the vault, the excavators had the pleasant and rare surprise of finding an ambulacrum almost intact, with its tombs still closed by tiles and marble slabs. The destroyers of the Middle Ages and of more recent days, who violated almost all the tombs in the Christian cemeteries, had not reached this angle of the hypogaeum, and we find it as it was left by the ancient *fossores*. The discovery of this rare model of a well-preserved gallery was immediately announced in the public press, and, as some of these tombs were still adorned with the glass vase which is sometimes a sign of martyrdom, it was rumored that at San Sebastiano there had been found a sub-

terranean gallery full of tombs of martyrs, and that the ecclesiastical authorities would provide for their veneration. All this, however, is entirely fanciful, as there is not the slightest proof that the tombs discovered belonged to confessors of the faith, and consequently ecclesiastical authority has not intervened. On the contrary, there is every indication that this gallery is a work of the period of the Peace of the Church, as the monogram of Christ, which came into especial use after the peace, is here of frequent occurrence. As for the glass vases fastened with plaster in the openings of the loculi, it is now demonstrated that, though under special circumstances and whenever there are evident traces of blood they should be considered signs of martyrdom, they are generally not so: it is believed, with great probability, that they are specimens of the glass cups from which the body was sprinkled with aromas and perfumes in the act of burial. Finally, the inscriptions which close the loculi in the walls possess the paleographic and stylistic characteristics of the IV cent. The following are the principal: (1) IVSTINV S E BIBV | FECIT X—(2) BINCENTIA X IN PACE (dove)—(3) X QVE BIXIT ANV | QVIRIACE IN PACE.

The staircase from which this gallery leads was found to be encumbered with marble slabs thrown down from above, perhaps from the oratory at the head of the staircase. Among these is deserving of special notice a bust of the Saviour sculptured in relief in a sort of rectangular frame. This sculpture, though badly damaged, belongs to the well-known iconographic type with pointed beard and hair falling on the shoulders, and has the characteristics of a work of the IV century. The fact that it is an isolated bust makes it, for the century to which it belongs, a unique example. The conclusion to be drawn would apparently be that this work is a sculptured image made for public veneration: as is evident to all, this fact would be of capital importance for the history of Christian art and ecclesiastical discipline during the first centuries.

Finally, I will mention that two inscriptions have come to light which belong to the tombs of the cemetery built in open air, and perhaps to those mausolea to whose ruins I have referred and which gave to the place the name of catacombs. Both have a consular date, one of Limenius and Catullinus, 340 A. D., the other that of the sixth consulate of Valentinian, 445 A. D.

The discovery of an historical crypt in the cemetery of Maximus, in which were buried S. Felicita and Silanus, one of her seven sons, has already been noticed on more than one page of this Journal (II, pp. 93, 354), and its fresco of the VII century representing her with her seven sons has been described. Their martyrdom took place under the emperor Marcus Aurelius in 162 A. D., as has been clearly proved, some time since,

by Comm. de Rossi.² A graphic account of it is given in a very early document, apparently translated from a contemporary Greek text, and is published in Ruinart's *Acta*.³ According to this account, the martyrs suffered in several places and by different judges, and would consequently have received burial in various localities. The earliest of the martyrologies or calendars, the *Philocalian Calendar*, a document of the IV century, indicates the burial places of the martyrs, and these correspond with the groups of those who are said to have suffered. Thus Januarius was buried in the crypt of Praetextatus on the Via Appia; Felix and Philip in the cemetery of Priscilla; Alexander Vitalis and Martial in *cæmeterium Jordani*; Silanus in the subterranean chambers of Maximus on the Via Salaria, in which the recent discoveries have been made. The itineraries of pilgrims to the sacred places in Rome show that the tombs of these martyrs were held in special veneration and visited by crowds from the time of the Peace of the Church up to the VIII century.

The oratory is rudely built of tufa and bricks, and must have been roofed, as no traces of vaults have been found. A staircase of equal width led down to the hall, which was divided into three aisles by two rows of marble columns. At the end was the fresco of Felicita and her seven sons being crowned by the Saviour, in front of which rose the altar erected over the martyrs' tomb. The tomb is empty, as the relics were transported by Leo III (795-816) to the church of Santa Susanna, a fact which he commemorated by a mosaic which was unfortunately destroyed by Card. Rusticucci in restoring the church in 1595.

Among the inscriptions found in the crypt is one, bearing the consular date of the year 390, to the memory of a young woman named Constantia and Bonifatia, whom de Rossi⁴ sagaciously conjectures to be sister of that Boniface who, thirty years later, became Pope and erected over the oratory a basilica in honor of Santa Felicita. To the left of the oratory was discovered a narrow staircase leading down to a small irregular room excavated in the tufa: on the right of it opens an archway on which are remains of paintings and nails for the hanging of lamps. Under the arch is a cavity which certainly served to contain water: to it there leads a long water conduit, and an aperture for letting out the water is also visible. The only possible explanation is that this was a baptistery.

ORAZIO MARUCCHI.

ROMA, July 1886.

² *Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1863, p. 29, *sqq.*

³ Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, Amsterdam edition, pp. 26-27.

⁴ *Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1884-85, No. IV, pp. 178-9.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

LES ARTISTES CÉLÈBRES. PHIDIAS, par MAXIME COLLIGNON, Professeur suppléant à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Ouvrage accompagné de 45 gravures. 4to, pp. 128. Paris, 1886, Librairie de l'Art. J. Rouam, éditeur, 29 Cité d'Antin.

Every new book about Pheidias brings out anew two facts: how small our actual knowledge of him is, and how general the temptation to refer to him all that there is to say of the art of his generation. A marked quality of M. Collignon's book is its moderation in this respect. The author is very careful of dogmatism and over-statement, and watchful of the boundary between knowledge and conjecture. There are few subjects in which this care is more necessary. Pheidias is such a magnificent figure in the history of art, the things we know of him are so definite, our impression of them so precise and clear, the things that may have been true of him so obvious and enticing, the contrast between the positiveness of what we see and the dimness of what we do not see so disconcerting, that there is great temptation to fill up the whole picture with positive color and form. Here M. Collignon's reserve is excellent. He has given a good account of what is known about Pheidias, taking advantage of all the recognized authorities, and having due regard to others who have written on his subject before him. His interest in Pheidias has not led him to forget where conjecture begins, and the reader, whether disposed or not to go with him in all his inferences, does not lose confidence in the writer's accuracy and judgment.

In selection and arrangement the book is excellent, the salient points well marked, and the parts proportioned with that judgment which is a Frenchman's birthright. Without needless display of erudition it is brought up to the scholarship of its date, and is provided with an adequate bibliography and justificatory notes; so that while it is intended for general readers, like the rest of M. Rouam's series of *Artistes Célèbres*, to which it belongs, it is a book which the scholar reads with pleasure, and which shows the student the way to further research in its subject.

But what we know of Pheidias is not enough to make a book, and hence the salutary necessity, to which every writer on him yields, of including

with it the whole range of sculpture of the time and place in which he lived. This may be done in the biographer's spirit, on the assumption that all we have is Pheidias's, or we may discuss the whole sculpture of the Parthenon as the achievement of the age of Perikles, in which Pheidias is the foremost artistic figure. M. Collignon takes the more moderate view, and, while he sees in Pheidias the leading figure and probably the dominant force in Periklean art, he does not make him absorb all the greatness of the great epoch of Athenian sculpture. All writers from Plutarch and Pausanias down have been so pre-occupied with the brilliance of Pheidias's fame, that one feels a strong desire to plead for the unknown great sculptors who must clearly have been his co-workers, and to complain that Periklean Athens is belittled when it is assumed that she could furnish but one who was a master in the art. Perhaps even M. Collignon goes further in his attribution than the evidence requires, though not beyond the limit of reasonable conjecture. In discussing the sculptures of the pediments he says discreetly (pp. 63-4): "Deux caractères nous frappent surtout: la parfaite unité des deux compositions, et des différences assez notables dans l'exécution des statues. Considérez les deux frontons: vous y reconnaîtrez le même esprit, dans le groupement des figures, dans le mouvement des draperies, qui accuse un sentiment tout nouveau et une réaction marquée contre la timidité des anciennes écoles. Et cependant le style des figures est loin d'être uniforme: ici une facture plus large et plus sommaire, comme dans l'Héraclès; ailleurs, des délicatesses charmantes, comme dans le Céphise; quelquefois, comme dans l'Iris, un modelé moins souple et moins gras. Que des mains différentes aient travaillé à ces statues, on n'en saurait douter; mais quoi de plus naturel, si l'on attribue à Phidias seul la conception des deux frontons? C'est là en effet la solution à laquelle nous nous arrêterons. Nous imaginons volontiers Phidias déterminant le plan des frontons (M. Collignon means the composition of their sculpture) exécutant de sa main les modèles en terre, et distribuant entre les sculpteurs de son atelier la tâche beaucoup plus longue de les rendre en marbre. Nous irons même plus loin, et nous reconnaîtrons la main et le coup de ciseau du maître dans les morceaux de maîtrise, tels que le groupe de Déméter et Coré, celui des Kharites, et le Céphise." This is very reasonable, and only suggests the caveat, on the one hand, that the same artist, if only he be skilful enough, may very well in a large and varied composition handle some figures with boldness and others with delicacy, according to their intended character and expression; and, on the other, that the "coup de ciseau" of Pheidias is perhaps that one of his technical qualities of which we have the least information.

In point of fact, the discussion of Pheidian art is much more complex than if it covered only the work or the influence of one man. The trans-

itional phase through which sculpture was passing was very like that which overtook ecclesiastical art, especially architecture, in Western Europe at the end of the twelfth century. We have not only to account with archaicism, conventionalism, a growing realism, an awakening artistic freedom; but to recognise the mingling of the bolder and simpler but more rigid Doric sculpture with the freer and more graceful Ionic, itself a complex of Greek and Oriental influences. To these are to be added the personal impulse and the actual performance of an exceptionally great master who, as we have evidence, overtopped all about him, and apparently both by his genius and his position exercised a masterful sway over those who worked with him, or at least carried off all the public applause which has come down to our time. Students and writers may naturally differ as to the part they ascribe to this exceptional master, the minuteness with which they trace his influence, and the limits they assign to his work. But where all is inference or conjecture a convincing deduction is not possible. The equations are too few for the unknown quantities. On these questions M. Collignon seems to take the most reasonable ground, ascribing to Pheidias the planning of the iconography of the Parthenon throughout, and to other hands the execution of all but the most important parts.

The chief characteristics of what one may call the Pheidian sculpture have come to be well recognized, and M. Collignon brings them out with clearness and insight. But I doubt if they are marked by a quality which is often ascribed to them, and which he mentions with some emphasis. Speaking of Pheidias's work, M. Collignon says: "Tout y est si simple et si grand, que cette perfection semble n'avoir coûté aucun effort." And again: "Seul il a possédé le secret de cette majestueuse simplicité, de cette grâce puissante et fière, de cette noblesse divine, qui donnent aux statues du Parthénon leur beauté radieuse, et leur éternelle jeunesse." Grand, noble, serene,—by turns majestic and graceful, and sometimes both,—such the sculpture of the Parthenon certainly is, and full of an unrestrained masterly freedom apparently unattained till their time: but unity, breadth, singleness of effect, rather than simplicity, are their qualities—qualities which in the hands of a master give the impression of simplicity to work which is composed of multifarious elements. Only in the works of nature and of the greatest masters do we see the power to control a multitude of factors without constraint into an organized whole, and to turn complexity into transparent unity. When this rare mastery exists, to fail to recognize it is perhaps to omit the master's highest praise; and we are the more in danger of overlooking it in an age which is so enamored of slightness and sketchiness in works of art that it is losing its perception of the highest powers of composition. The composition of the pediments of the Parthe-

non is surely far from simple, and in the frieze one of the most conspicuous qualities is a marvellous facility in the handling of intricate combinations. To display the difference between real simplicity and the singleness of a masterful but complex composition we need only compare the Parthenon frieze with Flaxman's or Thorwaldsen's classical inventions. Nothing better shows the inferiority in power of the modern artists than to look at them in this light. Even in matters of detail the same thing holds. The draping of the single figures in the Parthenon pediments is more complicated than in earlier work. It is the wonderfully skilful combination of its lines that gives the figures and groups their effect of unity in spite of a multitudinous detail. Indeed, if I dared suggest a shadow of criticism of the sculpture of the Parthenon, it would be that the draperies in the pediments, in spite of their magnificent composition, and probably in the interest of the awakened naturalism of the time, were a little over-complicated; and that in parts of the frieze the gathering of horses' legs suggests the aptness of the popular sarcasm on Correggio's cupola at Parma. If we read Pliny's and Pausanias's accounts of the Parthenos and the Olympian Zeus, we must realize that elaborateness of composition could hardly be carried farther than in them; and, however we may feel assured that the genius of Pheidias could turn all this varied splendor to singleness of result, the descriptions show that the most luxurious inventions of Cellini would have been simple beside these.

Indeed there is encouragement to think that the greatest technical contribution to Greek sculpture of the age of Pheidias, very likely his own contribution, was just this splendid mastery of composition. In the Olympian and Aiginetan friezes we miss it. The figures stand well enough together, but as if they had been made apart—bought in different shops, and set together with sense and judgment. The pliancy, the freedom and yet sensitiveness to each other's neighborhood and to the prevailing unity which mark every figure and every detail of the Parthenon sculpture are wanting. The mastery of composition is not there. In Pheidias's time it is present. What a careful comparative study of the sculpture of the almost contemporaneous Theseion would suggest as to the order of its development, I do not know; but once acquired it is a permanent possession, and we see it in varying degrees through all the later phases of Greek and even Roman art. The Phigaleian frieze, the sculptures of Pergamon and Halikarnassos, the marriage-frieze at Munich, exemplify it; and it was perhaps that quality which the Romans best maintained in their sculpture, as we see in their sarcophagi and in its late decline in the reliefs of Trajan's column and the Triumphal arches. Pheidias had, and may have been the first to acquire, that power of combination, that exuberant fertility which distinguish Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese and Rubens among painters.

How he was possessed by the decorative instinct that belonged to the Ionic Greeks we may infer from the fact that his greatest works—at least the most conspicuous and most popular—were the chryselephantine colossi, in which the sumptuousness of his imagination found its extreme expression.

These qualities indeed are pictorial, qualities which belong primarily to painters, and were developed at the time when painted decoration came to its full bloom. We need not doubt that Pheidias owed them, at least in great part, to his unusual familiarity with all the fine arts. Of the tradition that Pheidias worked under Polygnotos, and the conjecture that he even had had a share with him in the wall-paintings which were his chief works, M. Collignon says nothing; perhaps because he thinks them not worth notice. But it is difficult not to see a painter's facility in the design of the Parthenon frieze, as indeed he remarks. But it was the distinction of the art of Pheidias's day, of Pheidias himself we may believe, that to its power of invention and combination, to its technical mastery at all points, it added the highest ethical qualities of art, if I may call them so,—majesty, purity, and with them exquisite gracefulness, and to all these, in spite of the unsurpassed affluence of its motives, a noble reserve, shown in the exclusion of detail that is not so controlled and ordered as to seem indispensable. It is this just balance of all the high qualities of art, elsewhere unreconciled, that gives the sculpture of the Parthenon its superiority to all the other sculpture that we know. If there was excess in any direction—and it is difficult to conceive of any vigorous human product without excess of some kind—it was probably in the direction of that sumptuous magnificence which has disappeared from our eyes, and in its disappearance has left the work of the Periklean age to our sight as unblemished as it belongs to human work to be.

With the vexed controversies concerning the identification of the subjects in the Parthenon sculptures M. Collignon's book does not much concern itself. Such discussions are too long to be brought into an essay of a hundred and twenty-five pages. If this leads the author to give the theories which he accepts with an air of assurance that is a little out of keeping with the judicial tone of the book, it is not with any disagreeable positiveness, but is obviously the result of conciseness. The arguments of Professor Brunn and Dr. Waldstein do not convince M. Collignon. The best-known figure of the eastern pediment, interpreted by them as Olympos, but popularly called Theseus, he prefers to consider Herakles. For the group of female figures on the right of the same pediment,—which have been the subject of endless conjecture, but most commonly spoken of as the Fates, two of them lately christened with plausibility by Dr. Waldstein as Thalassa and Gaia,—he offers a new conjecture, calling them

the three Attic Charites ; and they are, as will be seen by the extract above quoted, among the few figures which he inclines to ascribe to the chisel of Pheidias himself. As the subject of the Cella-frieze, he accepts without question the Panathenaic procession, and the prevailing personations of the chief figures. Eschewing all controversy, M. Collignon confines himself mostly to what may be considered as known or generally accepted in the way of archaeological comment. His artistic criticism is judicious, appreciative, and interesting, without assuming to penetrate the inner regions of the artist's mind, as much of the German criticism of the day attempts, and is on that account the more satisfactory.

Naturally, the sculptures of the Parthenon, and the stories of the Parthenos and of the Zeus at Olympia, occupy the most of Collignon's attention. The residuary account of Pheidias's latest career, and various traditions about him, are condensed into a part of the final chapter. The story of his prosecution and death given by Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus is rejected as antecedently improbable; the contradictory one quoted by the scholiast on Aristophanes from Philochoros is corrected by an emendation of Müller-Strübing, at cost of more ingenuity perhaps than the narrator deserves, and the conclusion reached, really by à priori reasoning, that Pheidias went acquitted to Elis, and died there in honor; a conclusion which on the whole answers as well as any to the conditions of a question on which we can hardly feel any assurance unless new testimony shall be discovered. A good estimate of the qualities of the Pheidian sculpture, and a fair statement of what may be inferred as to Pheidias's following and influence, close this essay, which may be summed up as clear, well arranged, interesting and eminently reasonable.

W. P. P. LONGFELLOW.

DICTIONNAIRE DES FONDEURS, CISELEURS, MODELEURS EN BRONZE
ET DOREURS, depuis le moyen-âge jusqu'à l'époque actuelle, par
A. DE CHAMPEAUX, Inspecteur des Beaux-Arts à la Préfecture de
la Seine. A-C. 12mo, pp. 357. Paris, J. Rouam ; London, G.
Wood & Co., 1886. [GUIDES DU COLLECTIONNEUR].

This work is the third of the series of the *Guides du Collectionneur*. It is to contain the names and works of all artists in metal from the earliest Middle Ages, a work greatly needed. The present thick volume is but a first instalment, covering only the first three letters of the alphabet. A detailed and critical review would therefore be out of place and must be deferred until the entire series is published: but we wish at present to call the attention of archaeologists and of students of art to the great merit and usefulness of the work, which are already evident, and to the ency-

copedic knowledge and patient research shown by the author. These qualities are conspicuous in this first volume, and leave no doubt as to the success of the undertaking.

The sources of information on which the author draws are not merely those which would naturally be consulted by a writer—even a first-rate archaeologist—commissioned to perform a task for which he is reasonably well prepared: but the most unexpected and apparently unrelated publications are brought into requisition; monographs, which unfortunately are usually disregarded; memoirs; histories; etc. Of course, the inventories and accounts, catalogues, collections of inedited documents, guides, are carefully consulted. The impression is immediately conveyed that this is a labor of love, by one who has devoted many years to the collection of the facts now laid before us; and, though we may know it to be impossible for a single man to weave together the sum of knowledge and data in such a broad field of work, we feel confident that probably no one could have done the work better, if as well.

More than twelve hundred artists appear in this volume, and the references to authorities, where more details concerning them may be found, are generally made with profusion and accuracy. Often the writer seems disposed to give to an artist known only from documentary evidence more space than would seem necessary, and to devote but a short notice to men whose genius influenced the art of their time. In a work of this kind it is sometimes difficult to give to the different artists the right proportion of space. Artists of the highest talent, such as Carradossa (Foppa) ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.), Bandinelli ($\frac{2}{3}$ p.), Riccio ($1\frac{1}{2}$ p.), have but a short notice in comparison with those given to such relatively obscure artists as Cucci (2 pp.), Caffieri ($3\frac{1}{2}$ pp.), and Anguier (2 pp.). Even if the biography of these artists is too well known to need repetition, an enumeration of their works, such as is given in other less important cases, would not be out of place. The nine pages devoted to Barbedienne seem quite too long, even if the seven given to Christofle are more excusable. There are several points on which the work ought to be more complete in order to be of general use. A few American artists are mentioned (three or four) and these even are dismissed with a single phrase: this is a point on which M. de Champeaux could easily obtain information. Then a few names of Chinese, Japanese, and Mahomedan metal-workers are given: here also far greater completeness could be secured on application to specialists. Still, whatever may be the short-comings in matters of detail, this Dictionary must become the standard work, to which the necessary additions and corrections can be added.

Here are a few typographical errors: on p. 111, l. 17, for *periode* read *period*; p. 139, l. 2 *a. f.*, for *Laureti* read *Laurati*; p. 146, l. 4 *a. f.*, for

Morrena read Morrona, and l. 9 for Palerma read Palermo; p. 284, l. 20, for Schligo read Sligo.

One of the merits to be noticed is the almost consistent use by the writer of the real national names of the artists. The annoying custom of transforming foreign names into the forms of one's own language is happily becoming antiquated; but in France it still has a strong hold and appears entirely even in such works as Siret's *Dictionnaire des Peintres*. Le Corrège and Jean de Pise and Ste Marie des Fleurs, for Correggio, Giovanni da Pisa and Sta Maria dei Fiori, still flourish. M. de Champeaux, fortunately, does not belong to this school, and it is to be hoped that his example will be generally followed and that the time will come when not only each person will be given his own name, but each place will be called by its national appellation, so that we may no longer read of Plaisance, Venise, Florence, and Munich: but Piacenza, Venezia, Firenze, and München. In this connection, I may ask why does M. de Champeaux write *Bartolomeo de Modène*, *Bonano de Pise*, and *Agostino de Plaisance*, instead of *da Modena*, *da Pisa*, and *da Piacenza*.

A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR.

ARCHÉOLOGIE CHRÉTIENNE DE CARTHAGE.—FOUILLES DE LA BASILIQUE DE DAMOUS-EL-KARITA (1884) par le R. P. DELATTRE, de la société des Missionnaires d'Alger [Bibliothèque illustrée des Missions Catholiques]. Lyon, 1886, *Bureaux des Missions Catholiques*. 8vo, pp. 67, with illustrations.

During the last twenty years Africa has begun to rival Italy itself in the interest and importance of its remains of Early Christian art. In Algeria, and still more in Tunisia, a large number of basilicas of the iv and v centuries have been brought to light, more by chance than as the result of any systematic research; and there is no telling what might be found if money and men were forthcoming for the work. An example of what could be accomplished even with small means is shown by the pamphlet before us, written by that indefatigable lover of Christian antiquities the abbé Delattre, who from his convent on Mt. Byrsa near Carthage has acted as presiding genius over most of the archaeological work in the neighborhood, and has formed a museum well worth visiting, as M. Reinach has well said in the *Nation* (No. 2000). The early Church at Carthage was, we all know, one of the great centres of primitive Christianity, and it would seem as if we were to have a glimpse of it as it was in those early days; not as in Rome where no desecrating hands have turned catacombs and basilicas to ruins, but in the fragmentary condition to which the monuments of Chris-

tian Carthage were reduced by barbarous invaders. One of these glimpses we get from the description of the results of the excavations made in 1884, which led to the uncovering of an Early Christian open-air cemetery and of an adjoining basilica on a site called Damous-el-Karita. The first attempts at excavating were made here in 1880, and have been noticed elsewhere. The present pamphlet is devoted to the main discoveries of 1884. The most interesting as well as unusual part of the work was the clearing out of the cemetery. We are all familiar with the underground catacombs which, naturally enough, have in general been tolerably well preserved; but the cemeteries above-ground, of which there were so many, exposed to weather and destruction, have almost all perished, throughout the Christian world, leaving no trace behind. Not more than two or three of any moment are known: one at *Julia Concordia*, and another but recently discovered at Mitrovitz, the ancient Sirmium. The open-air cemetery or *area* of Carthage is formed of a large semi-circular court more than forty-five metres in diameter surrounded by a high wall within which there was a lofty portico, 3.25 met. wide, whose architrave was supported on columns with semi-Ionic capitals standing at a distance of three metres from each other. In the open space were found hundreds of epitaphs from the tombs of early Christians. In the centre was an octagonal structure, which may have been a pulpit or ambone from which the *lector* read to the faithful assembled in the surrounding portico. Finally, at the head of the semi-circle the wall opened for an oratory or *memoria* in the form of a trifolium composed of three small semi-circular apses, each containing the tomb of an illustrious martyr. This oratory was entirely vaulted and its ornamentation must have been of the richest character, as a considerable portion of the fallen vaulting of the central apse still preserved its mosaic of white and red cubes, with which the whole was adorned. The date of this *area* is considered by the abbé Delattre to be the end of the III or the beginning of the IV century.

Across the end of the cemetery opposite the semi-circle was placed a monumental basilica of the IV century, corresponding in plan to the basilica of the Nativity erected at Bethlehem by the Empress Helena. The length of the central nave is 50 met., its width 12.80 met., and it ends in a semi-circular apse. It was supported on a double row of granite and marble columns, twelve on each side.

To summarize in a few words the other results of these excavations, they brought to light 1924 fragments of inscriptions (1 Punic, 8 Greek, 1915 Latin), 53 bas-reliefs, 36 fragments of sarcophagi, 28 of chancels or ikonostases, 200 plaques of marble from the revetment of the interior walls, 6 tomb-mosaics, 70 Christian lamps, 2 pagan lamps, several Roman and Byzantine coins, etc. An interesting peculiarity of the Christian epigraphy

of Carthage is the frequent use of the formula *fidelis in pace*, almost unknown in the thousands of inscriptions from the Roman catacombs. *Fidelis* distinguished a baptized Christian from one who was not, the latter being a catechumen. *In pace*, according to De Rossi, has quite a different meaning in African from what it had in Roman inscriptions: in the latter it meant a spiritual heavenly union, in the former a terrestrial communion with the Church. Africa was so overrun with heresies that even in death the faithful wished to affirm their fidelity to orthodoxy. *In pace vixit*, and *fidelis in pace*, are then formulas attesting this communion with the true Church, and this is shown by the fact of their coming into great use just at the time when the African church was most racked by heresy.

The most interesting piece of Early Christian sculpture found was a relief of the IV century representing the Virgin seated and holding the infant Christ, behind whom is a figure, probably a prophet; while to the left stands a guardian angel. This poetic scene is unfortunately mutilated in almost every figure, but it can easily be imagined that the prophet, as in the even earlier fresco of the cemetery of Priscilla, was pointing to the star above. It is disputed whether, behind the angel, the three Magi may not have been represented as advancing with their offerings, as on the almost contemporary ambone of Thessalonika.

The excavations have not been brought to a close, though they can be continued but slowly through a lack of funds. Much remains to be looked into. Neither the area of the cemetery nor that of the basilica have been entirely uncovered, and no steps have yet been taken toward excavations in a large cemetery back of the early area. In the plateau near the basilica there are indications of most important discoveries. The author says, "We are already certain of finding there a cemetery and large buildings, like a presbytery, monastery, triclinium or baths, dependencies of the vast basilica which we have undertaken to completely uncover." Will not some lover of the early Church hasten the work by contributing at a time when such help is most needed?

A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR.

DIZIONARIO EPIGRAFICO DI ANTICHITÀ ROMANE di ETTORE DE RUGGIERO. Fasc. I. ABACUS-ACHAIA. R. 8vo. Roma, 1886, Tipog. della R. Accad. dei Lincei.

This work promises to be of real value not only to Italian students of Antiquities but to all interested in the subject, as it will be constructed on a somewhat different plan from previous works of a similar character. The program is "to effect a closer union between the study of Latin epi-

graphy and that of Roman antiquities by diminishing as far as possible the technical and practical difficulties which most students encounter in making use of inscriptions for historical, archæological, and even juridical researches." The writer's main difficulty was one of selection: what words should be considered to have the right of entry. In this respect he resolved to confine himself to those well-proven words that had a strict relation to the different phases of ancient life. The greater part of the vocabulary selected refers, (1) to the mythology with its priesthood, institutions, and rites; (2) the political organization of Rome, Italy, of the provinces and municipalities; (3) the financial, judiciary and military administrations, and their special branches relating to mines, the mint, posts, roads, wheat supply, food, public works, etc.; the offices of the court, patrimony, chancery, council of state, libraries, etc., of the emperor; (4) the sources of private jurisprudence, as laws, *senatusconsults*, edicts and constitutions, etc.; (5) social orders and corporations; (6) professions, arts and trades; (7) public games, popular celebrations, and many customs and objects of daily life.

The few pages of the dictionary contained in the first fasciculus of 32 pp. hardly enable one to judge even in general how well the program announced above is being carried out. The reputation of the author, however, is a good guarantee that the work will be done in a scholarly manner. Of special interest are the articles *Accensus* and *Achaia*.

A. L. F. JR.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

BULLETTINO DI ARCHEOLOGIA CRISTIANA. Rome, 1884-5. No. 4.—O. MARUCCHI, *Report of the meetings of the Society of Christian archaeology, held in Rome during 1885*. The reports of these meetings form one of the most valuable features of Comm. de Rossi's periodical, and contain accounts of all the more recent excavations in the Roman Catacombs. Comm. le Blant called attention, at one of them, to a terracotta lamp with the subject of Tobit extracting the fish's gall, a subject not hitherto found on lamps. Prof. Marucchi showed the drawing of an interesting small marble ciborium probably of the vi cent. found in Venice, a unique prototype of the later large tabernacles. It was intended to be placed on the altar and to hold, suspended, the eucharistic dove. Prof. Marucchi also brought forward an inscription showing that under Pascal II, in the xii cent., a Roman artist named Jovianus worked at the basilica of S. Agapitus at Palestrina. Abbate Cozza identified, by means of a Vatican palimpsest of Strabo's geography (vii cent.), the island of Caudon with Gozo, thus determining the identity of Kauda where S. Paul stopped, according to Acts xxvii, 16. The Carlovigian origin of the well-known tessellated mosaic ornamentation so popular with the Roman artists of the xii and xiii centuries, was suggested by Comm. de Rossi; this being founded on the monument of Gero, Archbishop of Cologne (†976). He also made several reports on recent excavations in the Roman catacombs, especially in those of Priscilla, Callixtus and Domitilla. To the latter a new entrance has been discovered, leading to a section of the necropolis that may more properly be termed *cæmeterium Basilei*. Dr. Müller gave a detailed account of an interesting Jewish cemetery recently discovered near the Via Appia-Pignattelli. In the suburbs of Mitrovitz, the ancient Sirmium, the discovery has recently been made of a large open-air Christian necropolis, of which a description is given by the Abbé Hytrek.—G. B. DE ROSSI, *The cemetery of St. Syneros at Sirmium*. Publication and commentary of two of the inscriptions found in this important Christian open-air cemetery, which prove the principal martyr reverenced there to be S. Syneros who was martyred under Diocletian: (1) *ego aurelia . aminia . po|sui TITVLVM VIRO MEO |f|L SANCTO EX N. IOV. PRTEC | BENEMERITVS QVI VIXIT | ANN · PL · M · L QVI EST DEFVNC|TVS CIVIT · AQVILEIA TITY-*

LVM | POSVIT AD BEATV SYNEROTI MA|RTVRE ET INFANE (*sic*) FILIAM | SVAM NOMINE VRSICINA | QVI VIXIT ANNIS .N. III. (2) EGO ARTEMIDORA FE|CI VIVA ME MEMORI|AM AD DOMNVM |SYNEROTEM INTE|RANTEM AD DEXTE|RAM INTER FORTVNA| TANEM ET DESIDERIVM.—G. B. DE ROSSI,
Discovery of an historical Orypt in the cemetery of Maximus ad Sanctam Felicitatem on the Via Salaria Nuova. Report on the discovery of the crypt of S. Felicita with its frescos of this saint and her seven sons. This has been already noticed in the *News* on p. 93 of vol. II (cf. *Nuova Antologia*, Feb. 1, 1886). The present paper contains: (1) an account of discoveries in the crypt, of which nothing but the bare walls and a fresco remain; (2) a notice of a painting representing S. Felicita and her seven sons, in an oratory near the baths of Titus (disc. in 1812): both these frescos are illustrated in pls. IX-X and XI-XII, the latter being considered without any doubt to be earlier and to belong to the V, the latter to the VII-VIII century; (3) a comparison of the two paintings, showing quite a different order in the arrangement of the figures; (4) the description of the crypt, a portion of which was transformed, at the close of the IV cent., into a small basilica divided by columns into three aisles, and in which the writer conclusively shows that the body of Silanus, one of the sons of Felicita, was buried, and the church consecrated to him. Above ground was the oratory of Felicita herself, erected by Pope Boniface I (418-22). Finally it is shown that the new discoveries throw no special light on the questions raised by the acts of S. Felicita and her sons, acts the genuineness of which has been a matter of doubt.

A. L. F. JR.

BULLETIN DE CORRESPONDANCE HELLENIQUE. 1886. Maren.—
 G. COUSIN, *Inscriptions of Akarnania and Aitolia.* *Akarnania:* 1. Treaty of alliance between Rome and the city of Tyrreion, evidently a translation, made in Rome, of a Latin text. The document is dated 94 B. C. by names of consuls and two praetors. The first known example of the custom of dating by consuls and praetors is but slightly anterior: i. e. the senatus-consultum of Astypalaia, 105 B. C. In the latter document the consuls have no cognomen, while in the former they have. In the senatus-consultum of Asklepias (78 B. C.) both consuls and praetors have the cognomen, thus showing a regular progression. The cause leading to this treaty, which gave to Tyrreion so exceptionally advantageous a position in Akarnania, are not known. The inscription shows that M. Heuzey was correct in placing the site of Tyrreion at Hagios Vasilios. 2. List of members of a society; fragmentary. 3. Twenty-six short and unimportant inscriptions from Akarnania. *Aitolia:* 1. Inscription from Kalydon, already published several times, but here fully illustrated: earliest example of the *proemia militaria*, as it dates from Sulla.—M. HOLLEAUX, *Excava-*

tions at the Temple of Apollon Ptoos (contin.). I. Archaic bronze statuette (pl. IX), quite perfect except loss of feet: inscription on left leg: *Eὐφετίας* (or *ΕὐΦετίας*) *ἀνέθετο τοῖς Ηποτελοῖς*. Date, vi century. Both in type and proportions it bears great resemblance to the statuette of Apollon of Naxos at Berlin. In both, the head is crowned and the arrangement of the plaited hair the same: both show in the artist a scrupulously careful study of nature in details, and good workmanship. II. The second statuette (pl. VIII), somewhat oxidized and broken above the ankles, is of rude workmanship and earlier date: vi-vii century. The dedication, inscribed on the front of the body, is thus worded: *Κιδοս ἀνέθετο πάλλου τοῖς Ηποτελοῖς*. The forms are heavy and angular, and there is no attempt to indicate, except by engraved lines, the muscles and secondary forms of the body.—P. FOUCART, *Inscription of Rhodos*. The writer has already published a monograph on religious associations among the Greeks. This inscription enables him to study in great detail one of these associations at Rhodos in the II cent. B. C. It gives the names of many members, with very precise information as to their origin, condition, family relations, etc., and throws light on many details of the organization. The majority of members were foreigners, from Alexandria, Antioch, Selge and Soloi, Knidos, Ephesos, Chios, Kyzikos, Symbra, Amphipolis, Lysimachia, Tenos, Hermione. This gives to this society a character different from those of the Peiraeus and Delos, in many of which the members have a common origin and have for main object the worship of a national divinity. This Rhodian society was founded by Nikasion and divided into three tribes, as in the Dorian cities. The inscription contains a list of victors at games celebrated by this society.—E. POTTIER, *Excavations in the necropolis of Myrina*. Remarks on a collection of knuckle-bones with marks and inscriptions, found at Myrina, in connection with their use in games of chance.—M. HOLLEAUX and P. PARIS, *Inscriptions of Oenoanda*. The Turkish village of Urludja was first identified by Spratt and Forbes (*Travels in Lycia*, p. 172) as the site of Oenoanda, in Lykia. The inscriptions here published not only confirm this, but show that on the same site was the city of Termessos *πρὸς Οινόανδος*. 2. Shows that Licinius Mutianus, the friend of Vespasian, was governor of Lykia under Nero (c. 57). 12 other inscriptions are published.—R. DARESTE, *Inscription of Kalymna*. This inscription from the temple of Apollon at Kalymna was first published by Mr. Newton in 1883 (*Greek Insc. of Br. Mus.* vol. II): it is here commented and a translation offered. Its chief interest is in its legal aspect. Two citizens of Kos, Pausimachos and Hippokrates, probably bankers, made a loan to the city of Kalymna, the reimbursement of which was extremely slow, not being completed until the time of Kleophantos, grandson of Hippokrates. Persons representing the family of Pausimachos, the other and larger creditor,

brought a suit, judged before the strategoi of Knidos, against the city of Kalymna, for paying the entire debt to the other party. Their suit was rejected by 126 against 78. The oaths taken by the judges, and by the contending parties are of special interest. To be noticed are the regulations concerning documents to be brought forward, written depositions, the time allowed each for discussion, the pleaders, the witnesses *in praesentia* and *absentia*, safe-conducts, and cross-examinations.

April.—F. DURRBACH and G. RADET, *Inscriptions of Peraea Rhodorum*. Long before the Rhodians received Lykia and Karia from the Romans in 189 b. c. they had sovereignty over a strip of territory between these provinces, called the Rhodian Peraea ($\eta\piεραία\tauῶνΡοδίων$). It included such cities as Daidala, Kalynda, Pisilis, Kaunos, Physkos and Phoinix. The inscriptions here published come from the small peninsula opposite Rhodos now called *Darakia*, which forms the S. W. extremity of the Peraea. The sites of Phoinix (mod. *Phenikeh*) and Elaioussa (mod. *Alessa*) are identified, and the former proved to be a large city with an akropolis. No. 1 is a dedication, during the III cent. b. c., to "all the gods" by a prytanis and priests and hierophants of various sanctuaries. Athana and Zeus Polieus, Aphrodite, Askapios, Sarapis are the divinities worshipped, and these were also worshipped at Rhodos. 2. This inscription, also referred to the same period in the III cent., is a list of contributions, suggested by a popular decree, for the construction of a temple to Dionysos: a complete list of the names of donators with the respective sum opposite each one: one Mnasagoras gave the land for the temple and temenos. This proves that, besides the above-mentioned divinities, Dionysos was worshipped in the Peraea, while another inscription (4) adds Apollon to the list. No. 6 is in honor of a benefactor of a society for the worship of Adonis. In No. 7 the community of a *xtoīvā* decrees honors and a crown to a magistrate, Philoumenos. It shows that the Rhodian *xtoīvai*,—which were subdivisions of a city, grouped by a common worship, and distributed according to territorial divisions,—existed up to a late date.—M. HOLLEAUX, *Excavations at the temple of Apollon Ptoos* (contin.). Archaic torso, of Parian marble, reproduced on pl. vi: the head and greater part of arms are broken away, as well as front of legs. On each thigh was an inscription, of which only the beginning remains. The first is thus restored: *Ιλιθίας ὄρφατε[ιεὺς] ζαὶ Ασχρίων* $\alpha\bar{v}[\varepsilon]\theta[\varepsilon\tau\omega]$. In the second, the epithet [*ἀργυρόποτάσσον*] must be a qualitative of Apollon. The two inscriptions formed but one dedication, which cannot be earlier than the middle of the v cent. b. c. There is every reason to assign this statue to the second and transitional series of "Apollon" figures: the facts of its discovery in the temenos of Apollon and its dedication, certify to its being a representation of the god. It is to be

compared to the bronze Apollon of Piombino (Louvre) and the marble Strangford Apollon (Brit. Mus.). The writer conjectures that all may be derived from the Apollon of Kanachos (Paus. ix, 10. 2).—M. CLERC, *The ruins of Aigai in Aiolis*. In the light of the more recent discoveries at Nimrud-Kalessi made by the German archaeologists Bohn and Fabricius (cf. Reinach in *Rev. Arch.* 1886, p. 161; *JOURNAL*, II, p. 214) and by Hamdi-Bey and M. Baltazzi, it is interesting to read this somewhat delayed account of the excavations undertaken here in 1882 by M. Clerc, a member of the French School at Athens, excavations of which full advantage could not be taken owing to the absence of architect and draughtsman. This paper does not touch upon the finds in the necropolis, which will form the subject of a subsequent paper, but only on those within the city limits. The acropolis is the most important of the ruins explored by M. Clerc. It was apparently rebuilt at several periods, and only small traces remain of the original Greek construction. There are two distinct concentric lines of walls: the first, often rebuilt, but with traces of Hellenic construction; the second, inner line, is evidently posterior to even the latest parts of the first. Within these walls was a large building of uncertain use with a complicated series of vaulted passages which, though formed of regular round-headed arches with voussoirs, show great inexperience. They may have served to join the walls to the akropolis. At the summit of the akropolis-hill are numerous ruins, the most important being a fortress-like monument, whose main front, well-preserved throughout its entire length of 82 met., rises to a height of 14 metres in the central section. The entire building is in the form of a rectangle, whose small sides are 28 met. long. The construction is regular and in the original state (dating according to Bohn and Fabricius from the time of the kings of Pergamon). The interior is divided into two parts by a wall 0.88m. high, each part being subdivided into sixteen nearly equal sections. On the front are twelve doors each opening into a chamber. These doors are trapezoidal in shape, and each has a window of similar shape close to the left, with a common lintel. The building was in several stories, but these have fallen in, and the chambers are filled in with débris to a height of six metres. Doric and Ionic columns and capitals have been found: also an unchannelled column, and one with wide and flat channels. The exterior of this building has a military aspect, but the small interior chambers, and the absence of convenient communication between them, contradict this theory. M. Clerc is disposed to consider it "a construction or reconstruction of the Roman imperial period." At about an hour's distance from Nimrud-Kalessi on the rt. bank of the Kodja-Tchâï is an isolated ruin called by the natives Tchâï-Capou and identified by M. Clerc as the temple of Apollon Chresterios from an inscription which mentions

P. Servilius Isauricus proconsul of Asia 46–44 b. c. The identification of Aigai with Nimrûd-Kalessi is made from topographical as well as numismatic reasons.—S. REINACH, *Engraved handle of a strigil found at Myrina*. Garrucci published in 1866 the only three strigils bearing figures on their handles that were then known. Some others with sculptured handles were found, especially at Palestrina, but only one with engraved handle has been found in Greece (Varvakeion Museum: Collignon, *Manuel*, p. 352, fig. 138). The strigil here published is the first one with engraved handle found in Asia Minor. It is in the Louvre. The figure represented is a youthful Hermes, with the petasos and holding a staff, standing on an Ionic column. The exquisite drawing recalls that of the best Greek mirrors.—CH. DIEHL and G. COUSIN, *Inscriptions of Alabanda in Karia*. The inscriptions hitherto known, coming from this source, have been few and unimportant. Those here published come from the villages of the Tchinar-tchâï plain. 1. Honorary decree, probably of city of Alabanda. The person honored devoted his fortune largely to public benefactions, and was twice ambassador to Rome and once to a king not mentioned. This document indicates the period of the war with Antiochos when Alabanda wished to strengthen its alliance with Rome. 2. Inscription to M. Antonius Meleagros. 4. List of honors conferred on Aristolaos of Alabanda. 5. Similar inscription: name unknown.—E. POTTIER, *Excavations in the necropolis of Myrina* (contin.) (pl. xv). Illustration of three terracotta groups representing the funerary banquet and a nuptial scene. After a short summary recapitulating the varied and contradictory opinions of archæologists as to the significance of this scene, M. Pottier proceeds to describe the groups here illustrated, considering them to represent the deceased heroized. In the two minor groups is a man extended on a couch, embracing his wife seated by him, and holding in his left hand a kantharos: the central group contains two reclining male figures, crowned, and holding a phiale, while a seated and crowned female figure plays on a triangular lyre. This treatment is rare in the terracottas. The monument on the lower part of pl. XIV is the largest, most perfect and important work found at Myrina. Broken into many pieces it has been carefully reconstituted. This charming group evidently represents a marriage scene, probably the episode of the *ἀνακάλυψης* or “unveiling,” treated with great delicacy. The figures are both youthful, the male being only partially, the female entirely, draped; still, it is but another form of the funerary banquet to which a conjugal character is given.—**MISCELLANIES.** MICHEL ΠΑΠΠΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ, *Inscription from Tralleis*. It gives the name of the sculptor Philotechnos of Samos of the II cent. b. c., known from two other inscriptions of Samos and Delos.—S. REINACH, *A Jewish Synagogue at Phokaia*. An inscription from Pho-

kaia is important for a knowledge of the form and construction of the Jewish synagogues. It reads: *Tátion Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἐν-πέδωνος τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὸν περίβολον τῷ ὄπαιθρον κατασκεύασσα εἰς τῷ[ν ἰδίῳ]ιων | ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς Ἰοῦνδαις | Ἡ συναγωγὴ εἰς τείμην σεν τῶν Ιουδαϊων Τάτιον Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἐνπέδωνος χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ προέδριᾳ.* "Tation, daughter of Straton son of Empedon, having built, at her cost, the hall of the temple and the peribolos of the hyspaithron, donates it to the Jews. The synagogue of the Jews has honored Tation, daughter of Straton son of Empedon, with a gold crown and the privilege of proedria." The existence of a Jewish colony at old Phokaia, the metropolis of Marseilles, was not known. The organization of Jewish society seems to have been modelled on that of the Greek cities. This inscription is a new proof of the fact: it is the first Jewish text mentioning the privilege of proedria = *πρωτοκαθεδρία* which gave her a seat on the bench of honor. Here we have the only known precise information on the construction of the Judeo-Greek synagogue. First comes the temple, *οἶκος*; then, in front of it the colonnade (*περίβολος*) surrounding the open court (*ὅπαιθρον*). Compare this with the arrangement of the early Christian basilica, as represented by that built at Tyre by Paulinus (313-22) and described by Eusebius. The arrangement is identical. Compare with this the arrangement of the private basilicas and that of the Greco-Roman house. This comparison throws light on the origin of the Christian basilica.—*Epigraphic Miscellanies.*

May-Nov.—GEORGES PERROT, *Note on some poniards from Mykenai.* Reproduction in three finely colored plates of five of the best preserved of these poniards, previously only imperfectly illustrated (cf. *Athenaeum*, t. IX, p. 162; x, p. 309: *Mittheil. d. k. d. Inst.* t. VII, p. 241). These works of primitive art, though discovered by Schliemann in the tombs of Mykenai, were not cleaned and their ornamentation brought to light until lately by M. Koumanoudes (cf. *News of JOURNAL*, I, p. 231; *Revue Arch.*, 1884, II, p. 109). Some of the poniard-blades are simply of bronze ornamented with animals in relief: the majority are composed of three pieces of metal, —the body of the blade and two gold or bronze plaques, inserted on either side, on which all the decoration is placed. The figures are in one instance (pl. III, fig. 6) in relief, usually flat, and formed of sheets of gold or electron of varied tints. The forms and other details are indicated by outline with the point. Nearly 150 fragments of swords and poniards were found in the tombs of Mykenai, mostly ruined by oxidation. Cf., for similar technic, a vase from Mykenai (*Mittheil.* VIII, p. 1) and a sword-blade from Thera (*Mém. des Antiq. du Nord*, 1880, pl. VIII, p. 346). The slenderness of the figures, the selection and execution of the animals, the subjects chosen, all seem to M. Perrot to point back to Egypt as the source of the art which produced these works: this art was perhaps that of the

Phoinikians, at a time (xii–xi cent. b. c.) previous to any Assyrian influence over that maritime people. The execution itself is probably Phoinikian, possibly Mykenaian.—P. PARIS, *Inscriptions of Elateia*. Excavations on this site have not brought to light any of the monuments mentioned by Pausanias, but a number of inscriptions. 1. An archaic epitaph (?). 2–5. Four decrees dating probably between 223 and 197 b. c.; two being from the Phokian confederacy, two from the people of Elateia. 6–8. Other decrees of proxeny of later date, one in honor of the physician Asklepiodorus. 9. A στοιχηδόν inscription on base of a group of statues. It is a dedication to Poseidon of statues of national protecting demi-gods, whose names are not mentioned. M. Paris suggests that the occasion for the erection of these statues may have been the famous victory of the Phokians over the Thessalian invaders, before the Median invasion (Paus. II, 4.3, 29.3; x, 1.1, 4.10, 32.10). The archaic pointed Ω may be a reminiscence of the original inscription of which this may be a copy. 10. Dedication of a statue in honor of Lucius Cornelius Sulla Faustus, son of the Dictator, whose title of pro-praetor is here given for the first time. 11. On the base of a statue of Hadrian. Among the following inscriptions are four acts of enfranchisement, already published by Curtius (*Anecdota Delphica*) and of which a more correct text is given.—S. REINACH, *Six statuettes from Myrina*. On plates xi and xiv six figures are illustrated, of which two are replicas of famous statues, and the others are interesting examples of genre sculpture. (1) A child, naked, with a chlamys over his r. shoulder, holds a comic mask in his r. hand. The hair is interwoven with the vine and ends in a flat plait that falls on the shoulder—a variety of the *krobylos* head-dress. (2) A small Herakles standing by a *hermidion* with female head; it is evidently moulded from a bronze. (3) Eros with the attributes of Herakles: the wings are broken off. (4) A child playing with a bird to which it offers a bunch of grapes. (5) A female dancer entirely draped, with left arm concealed under the drapery which is held with the right hand: a peculiarity is that the head is that of an old woman (cf. Heydemann, *Die verhüllte Tänzerin*, 1879): the type appears to be borrowed from painting. (6) Reproduction of the type of an athlete by Myron, of which a number of copies in marble and bronze are known (cf. Brunn, *Annali*, 1879, p. 201; *Beschr. d. Glypt.* 4 ed. p. 213; Kekulé, *Ueber d. Kopf d. Praxitel. Hermes*, 1882), the best being at Munich. The imitation from Myron if direct would be unique in Asia Minor terracottas: it probably came through a Praxitelean adaptation.—MICHEL CLERC, *Inscriptions of Thyatira and neighborhood*. Publication of 31 inscriptions. 2. Inscription in honor of L. Licinius Lucullus quaestor and proquaestor in Asia from 88 to 80. 3. Letter of the proconsul P. Cornelius Scipio to the city of Thyatira: confirming Waddington's opinion that he was placed

over Asia. He was consul in 16 b. c. 8. Inscription of Menelaos who is here related to have given hospitality to the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who might be either Marcus Aurelius, Commodus or Caracalla. It would seem to be the latter whose visit to Asia Minor took place in 214 and 215. 26. Inscription of importance for the date of the proconsul Marius Maximus, who commanded troops besieging Byzantium from 193 to 196, took part in 197 at battle of Lyon, was consul suffectus in 197 or 198, legate propraetor of Germania Inf., Belgium and Cœlo Syria between 198 and 209, urban prefect in 217, and consul for the second time in 223. The inscription was erected either under Heliogabalus (218–22) or Alexander Severus (222–35); and it proves that M. Waddington was right in placing the two years of his proconsulate in Asia between 214 and 216, as his first year corresponded to the sojourn of Caracalla at Thyatira.—CH. DIEHL and G. COUSIN, *Unknown cities of the Keramic gulf, Kedreai and Idyma*. On the E. side of a small island, now called *Seir-oglou*, were found antique ruins of considerable extent, on a hill joined to a low plain covering the W. side of the island. The city was surrounded by a wall, and on the N. side is a perfectly-preserved theatre of considerable size. Other ruins were found of the agora (?), a Doric temple, etc. One of the three inscriptions found shows the name of the city to be *Kedreai*, an ancient city mentioned among the cities of Karia by Hekataios of Miletos, as early as the vi, and a tributary of Athens in the v, century. The second inscription commemorates the dedication of a statue in the temple of Athena by the son of Kleippidas: the third is set up by the association of the Dioskourists, or worshippers of the Dioskouroi, and the statue was by the Rhodian artist Simias, son of Pythokritos, hitherto unknown, but whose father is probably identical with the Rhodian sculptor of the middle of the II cent., Pythokritos son of Timocharis. Bargasa, which with Keramos is the only city mentioned by Strabo on the Keramic Gulf between Knidos and Halikarnassos, has been placed at Djowa near the coast, where there are still many ruins. This is now proved to be a mistake by the discovery of an inscription there which shows that the ancient city occupying this site was Idyma, mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantion among the cities of Karia: it was also a tributary of Athens.—F. DURRBACH, *Inscriptions of Larissa*. These 13 inscriptions come from the Turkish cemeteries of the city. 1. A very defaced and much mutilated text engraved on a marble stele. The preamble is interesting because it is the first known document emanating from the Thessalian league, though several exist headed by the name of the strategos: these magistrates were instituted in 196 b. c., and this one is posterior to 179. The second magistrate mentioned, the *hipparchos*, had not before been known. The question involved seems to be a dispute between two cities of the confederacy between which the city of Mylasa is requested to

intervene as arbitrator. The inscription also proves that the archives of the confederacy (*κοινόν*) were deposited at Larissa; in this case in the temple of Zeus Eleutherios. 2. An inscription already published (*Mittheil. VIII*, p. 112, No. 1; Collitz, *Dialekt Inschrif.* No. 1286), but of which a better copy is given. 3. This is on a marble stele with an agonistic inscription similar to that published in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins.* t. XXVI, pt. II, p. 43 *sqq.* (cf. another in *Arch. des Missions*, 1876, p. 309 *sqq.*). The date is end of I or beg. of II cent. of our era. The list of games is long and of great interest, including many rare or new terms: bull-fights, literary contests, *πρωσθημή*, torch-light race or procession, etc., are among the entertainments.—**MISCELLANIES.** P. F., Publication of two fragments: the first is of a decree of end of IV cent. voted by Salamis to a benefactor: the second enumerates payments made for work executed in various public buildings, including the Odeon and the Parthenon, which would have been of great interest if less fragmentary.—*Epigraphica.* A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR.

BULLETIN MONUMENTAL 1885. Sept.-Oct.—A. DE BARTHÉLEMY, *The reliquary of Saint Tudual at Laval* (plate). The reliquary of silver gilt, probably given to the church by Anne de Laval (mid. xv), was destroyed in 1790; but the small ivory box containing the relics, and given probably at the same time, was preserved and is here illustrated. It is of Persian origin, and is ornamented with hunting scenes.—P. DE FONTENILLES, *The Tomb of St. Peter Martyr of Verona, at the church of S. Eustorgio in Milan* (end).—L. BRUGUIER-ROURE, *The Mutilations of the church of the St. Esprit at Pont-Saint-Esprit*.—DELORT, *A new Sepulchral cippus with an inscription and a half-figure, found at Auxerre* (plate). The inscription is simply, APINVLA · SOLINI · FILIA. The D. M. show it to be pagan = Gallo-Roman.—ABBÉ PORÉE, *The Hercules of Thil* (Eure) (plate). This statuette was found used as material in the XVII-cent. castle of Thil. The writer is in doubt whether it belongs to Gallo-Roman art or to the Renaissance.—H. JADART, *The house of Dom Mabillon and his monument in the church of Saint-Pierremont* (Ardennes).—B. DE RIVIÈRES, *Horal inscriptions and devices* (end).

Nov.-Dec.—Canon DEHAISNES, *The processes of the primitive Flemish School and oil painting*. This is an extract from a work soon to appear in three 4to volumes, entitled *Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut, avant le xve siècle*. The remaining works of the primitive Flemish school have preserved their tone better than most paintings but a half-century old, and this paper seeks for the causes of this perfection in the materials used by these early painters. The writer proves, from documentary evidence, oil painting to have been in general use for a full century before the Van Eycks [citation from *Liber diversarum arcium* of

xiv cent.]. The documents brought forward to prove this are numerous and convincing. Though refusing the invention to John Van Eyck, in opposition to Vasari and many modern writers, the author considers him to have introduced certain improvements.—F. DE MÉLY, *The reliquary of Saint Tugual at Chartres*. Critical notes on this reliquary and the notices that remain of it. Completion to information given in the previous number by M. de Barthélémy.—B. BERNARD, *Saint-Lizier: paintings, coffer and sarcophagus*. Drawings, accompanied by a descriptive text, of these works of art still remaining in the old cathedral of Saint-Lizier.—E. LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS, *The baptismal fonts of Urcel and Laffaux* (Aisne). Publication of two fine Romanesque fonts the like of which are very rare in the North of France. That of Urcel is composed of a column flanked with four engaged colonnettes, standing on a high square base. That of Laffaux is very similar, except that it is more ornate and the four colonnettes instead of being engaged are separate, though the bases join: the latter especially is of remarkable elegance and executed probably c. 1160.—Comte DE MARSY, *Archaeological courses in the Great Seminaries, and the preservation of works of art in religious buildings*. This address upholds the foundation, in all the diocesan seminaries where such do not already exist, of courses of instruction in Christian archæology; brings out the close relation existing between religion and the works of art which it inspired; and shows the necessity for the clergy to know something of architectural styles, in view of restorations, and of the value of early church furniture, in consequence of the bold attempts of antiquity-hunters. M. de Marsy's views were fully adopted by the *Congrès des Catholiques du Nord* in an interesting and detailed series of resolutions.

1886. Jan.-Feb.—Comte DE MARSY, *Notice on the Société Française d'Archéologie*. An account of its foundation by M. de Caumont in 1834, of its organization, scope and objects, and of the work it has performed during the fifty years of its existence.—A. DE DION, *The date of the church of Saint-Germer de Flay* (Oise). This important example of transitional Romanesque has been often studied, but no accord has been reached, among archæologists, as to its date; some of lesser authority have fixed it between 1030 and 1060 for textual reasons, but Boeswilwald, Viollet-le-Duc, de Laurière and others place it in the XII cent. In this paper M. de Dion asserts, (1) that the church was built between 1035 and 1058, (2) that the purely Romanesque parts of the church date from this time or a little later, but in no case from the middle of the XII cent., (3) that the Gothic portions added to replace the roof by vaults, and involving the reconstruction of the arcades and the vaults of the aisles, took place in the middle of the XII century.—E. LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS, *New study on the date of the church of Saint-Germer: Answer to M. de Dion*. In the Biblio-

thèque de l'Ecole des Chartes (t. XLVI, 1885, p. 475) the writer published a full monograph on this church, to oppose which was the main object of the preceding article by M. de Dion. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, while not repeating his former thesis, shows in this paper that the arguments advanced against him by M. de Dion arise from a lack of acquaintance with the monuments of the province, which show that the architects of this region long used simultaneously the round and pointed arch before they decided to systematically adopt the Gothic style. The writer's exposition of the architectural peculiarities of the important group of churches in the Beauvaisis and the Soissonnais are luminous and complete.—LÉON GERMAIN, *The tomb of Isabelle de Musset, wife of Gilles de Busleyden at Marville (Meuse)* (pl.). In the remarkable cemetery of Marville, is the chapel of St. Hilary, whose foundation dates back to the beginnings of Christianity in this region. Among the important monuments which it contains, there is one belonging to the late Gothic period with traces of the early Renaissance, which has hitherto remained anonymous. The writer has succeeded in identifying it by means of its two coats of arms. Gilles de Busleyden married Isabelle de Musset in 1455, and she died in 1506. The defunct is represented reclining with her feet resting on a lion, and holding a rosary in her joined hands. In four late-Gothic niches, two on each side, are small figures of St. Christopher, St. Gilles, St. Jerome and the archangel Michael. The writer considers the tomb to belong to the "Barrois" school of sculpture (Bar-le-Duc).—J. DE LAURIÈRE, *Archæological tour in the Val d'Aran*. This province, though on the French slope of the Pyrenees has always belonged to Spain. The principal castle of this district was that of Castelléon, unfortunately destroyed: two of its monuments remain and are described.

MARCH-APRIL.—J. DE LAURIÈRE, *Archæological tour in the Val d'Aran* (contin.). At Salardu, the church preserves a Romanesque south-wall with portal: here and in other churches in the Pyrenees we often find the monogram of Christ X with the A and O: the summits of the X are also curved so as to form a P. The construction of the church belongs to the end of the XII or beg. of the XIII century. The most interesting work of art it contains, is the *Santo-Christo*, a crucifix of wood (c. 1200) of good art, which is one of the most interesting known examples. A jubilee in its honor was established in 1316. Ugna has a castle of the XVI and a church of the XII century, and Trédos a fine church of the same date. This latter church possesses a remarkably beautiful processional cross in silver gilt of the beg. of the XVI cent.—HENRI THÉDENAT, *Two children's masks of the Roman period found at Lyon and Paris*. I. In the tomb of a ten-year old girl, Claudia Victoria, discovered at Lyon in 1874, was found a mask of her taken after death (pl.). This goes to prove that the ancients

were in reality acquainted with the use of plaster-casting. It was probably taken by the child's mother as a memento, and afterwards placed in the tomb. As a side issue, the subject of wax portraits is discussed. II. At Paris, in 1878, in the necropolis found on the site of the Marché du Port-Royal there came to light a sarcophagus containing the body of a little child: by a singular chance, when, in the Roman period, the burial took place, some of the fresh plaster which was to cement the cover fell on to the child's face and produced a natural cast, giving quite a good portrait (pl.).—LOUIS COURAJOD, *The Révoil Collection in the Louvre*. Pierre Révoil, a French painter of little merit at the beginning of this century, made for his own use a collection of monuments of considerable value, already famous in 1811. It was purchased for the State in 1828, and an interesting letter of Comte de Clarac regarding its purchase, and giving a detailed description, is published. It is followed by several letters interchanged on the subject between the collector and Comte de Forbin, director of the Royal Museums, and between the latter and M. de la Rochefoucauld and M. Artaud, the royal commissioner.—J. DE BAYE, *The torques was worn among the Gauls by men*. The collar or torques has been attributed exclusively to distinguished warriors among the Gauls: lately some archaeologists considered its use to belong to women only. The writer undertakes to show that its use was common to both sexes, and finds many texts as well as monuments that support his theory: it is especially clear that the *torques* was worn by warriors.

May-June.—E. MÜNTZ, *Portable Byzantine mosaics*. These small mosaic-tablets are a specialty of Eastern art, and were highly prized as devotional pictures. Very few have been preserved, and these date, in the writer's opinion, from the XII and XIII centuries. Two only of them were known to Unger, three to Labarte, but the present notice describes fifteen: which are preserved in the Louvre (2); in the Vatican Museum and the Palazzo Borghese at Rome; at S. Marco and S. Maria della Salute in Venice; at the *Opera del Duomo* in Florence (2); at Donauwerth and Burtscheid in Germany; in the South Kensington Museum; at Chimay, Belgium; in the Basilewsky Collection at St. Petersburg (2); and at Mt. Athos (Vatopedi). The material workmanship of these tablets is of the most exquisite and minute description, and in the two in the *Opera del Duomo* at Florence, the separate cubes, of glass, composition, marble and metal, can hardly be discerned by the naked eye. A heliotype plate reproduces the circular tablet of the Louvre which represents St. George killing the dragon, one of the latest of the series, and probably attributable to the XIV century. Though but few have been preserved, there existed a large number in the private and public collections of Italy at the time of the Renaissance. M. Müntz publishes extracts from inventories of the

collections of Card. Barbo, afterward Paul II (23 examples), of Card. Bessarion (seven), of Lorenzo de' Medici (seven); showing that these works were highly prized.—H. JADART, *The Abbey of Hautvillers (Marne) and its monuments*. Of this early foundation there remain but a few vestiges of the monastic buildings, but the church, though much ruined by restorations, retains a considerable portion of its early structure: *e. g.* the main portal, the two side-walls with their round-headed windows, and the lower part of the tower on the S. of the apse belong to the XII cent. There are no tombs existing that date further back than the XVI cent.—L. COURAJOD, *The Révoil Collection at the Louvre*. This second article gives in full the catalogue of this collection under the headings of, (1) offensive and defensive arms; (2) furniture; (3) coffers; (4) vases; (5) faience dishes; (6) utensils for private use; (7) ladies' toilet articles; (8) jewels and *pietre dure*; (9) clock-work; (10) ancient enamels; (11) later enamels; (12) portraits and paintings; (13) miniatures and drawings; (14) glass-painting; (15) statuettes; (16) bronze busts; (17) bronze medallions; (18) silver medallions; (19) works in ivory; (20) musical instruments; (21) bronze seals; (22) locks, knockers, etc.; (23) crosiers; (24) ancient stufis; (25) wood-sculptures, etc.—P. CHARDIN, *Collection of heraldic paintings and sculptures* (contin.). Monograph on the arms of the cathedral of Tréguier, including information on the church itself.

A. L. F. Jr.

ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ. JOURNAL OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY IN ATHENS. 1885. No. 4.—P. KABBDIAS, *Inscriptions from Epidauros*. The first four inscriptions (Nos. 88–91) were originally placed in an *exedra* built by one Sodamos and his wife Laphante in commemoration of themselves and their family. These inscriptions, together with Nos. 14 (*Eφ.* 1883, p. 31) and 75 (*Eφ.* 1884, p. 29), give the genealogy of the family for five generations. Nos. 92 and 93 are cut upon a rectangular pedestal. The original dedication was replaced in late Roman times by one to Thiasos, son of Aristodamos, but the original artist's inscription Ἀθηναγένης Ἀριστοδόμου, Λαζρέας Δαμοπείθους Ἀργεῖον ἐποισαν was left (cf. *Eφ.* 1883, p. 153, No. 52; Löwy, *Inscriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 269). No. 94, cut upon a rectangular pedestal, tells in three hexameters that Drymos, son of Theodoros, an Argive, brought the news of an Olympic contest to Epidauros, running thither on the very day of the contest. The date given is "Alexandrian times." No. 95 gives the names of two Athenian artists, Nikomenes and Timostratos, who flourished apparently in the IV cent. B. C. (cf. Löwy, *Ins. gr. Bild.* No. 131, a). Of the original dedication only τὸ κοτ[υὸν] remains. The name Ἄπια Ἀριστίκπου was added later. No. 96 tells us that Olympias and Olympiodoros and Nikis dedicated to Apollon and Asklepios a statue of their

father Nikatas, son of Nikatas, of Hermione. No. 97 tells of a votive offering to Athena Polias dedicated in consequence of a vision by Dadouchos priest of Asklepios Soter. No. 98 reads: *To Artemis Orthia, Dionyios* (dedicated this) *in consequence of a vision*. The same person, apparently, dedicated to Apollon Orthios the offering mentioned in No. 28 (*Eg.* 1883, p. 89). No. 99 records a dedication to Helios and the Dioskouroi made in consequence of a vision by Secundus Pomponius Hilarius. No. 100, cut upon an Ionic epistyle, records a dedication to Asklepios by Aristarchos, son of Erginos. The date suggested is "Alexandrian times." No. 101 records upon a plate of bronze a dedication to Asklepios by Kallistratos the cook. The letters are archaic. The *A* of Ασκλαπιος is wanting. No. 102 (figure in the text) is a marble tablet upon which are represented two human ears. Below is the inscription: Cutius has auris gallus tibi uouerat olim | Phoebigena, et posuit sanus ab auriculis.—E. LOEWY, *Artists' Inscription from Atalanta*. An inscription is published giving the names of two Theban artists, Stroton and Polynikos. The form of the letters is that of the IV cent. B. C. The inscription is cut upon two stones which together formed an arc-shaped pedestal. Upon this once stood two figures.—S. A. KOUMANODES, *Inscriptions from the Excavations in the Market-place at Athens* (inserted plate, and 3 figs.). Eleven inscriptions are published, which were found on the site of the bazaar lately destroyed by fire. No. 1 is in honor of T. C. C. A. Germanicus Imp., Savior of the world: the date is the 4th generalship of Tiberius Claudius Novius. No. 2, and apparently No. 3, is an honorary inscription to the Emperor Hadrian. Nos. 4 and 5 appear to be fragments of honorary decrees. No. 6 consists of five wretched distichs engraved upon a fluted drum of a Doric column. The Kekropidai and Dysikles had set up a statue of P. Erennios Dexippos, a man of note in the III cent. A. D. No. 7 is a fragment of a dedication by a priestess Pomponia Clara. No. 8 consists of three small fragments of a decree of the V cent. B. C. relating to a temple of the Dioskouroi. A fourth fragment is published *C. I. A.* I, No. 34. No. 9 is a new publication of *C. I. G.* I, 226, b (Add. p. 909). The stone, which had disappeared, has come to light again. The name of the archon is without doubt Charias, not Chabrias. In the list of archons the name Chabrias appears for the year 415 B. C. Perhaps this inscription gives the true reading. No. 10 (2 figs.) consists of two fragments of inscriptions, which the editor believes were part of the original laws of Solon, or a copy of them in stone. No words can be read upon the stone, but their peculiar shape leads the editor to reconstruct the *ἄξονες* of Solon (cf. Harpokrat. s. v. ὁ χάτωθεν νόμος). No. 11 (facsimile) is similar to an inscription published in *Eg.* 1885, p. 168. A similar inscription is given in small text.—CHR. D. TSOUNTAS, *Krater from the Akropolis* (pls. 11 and

12). On the front of this vase is represented Theseus killing the Minotaur in the presence of Ariadne and Minos. Theseus has seized the Minotaur by the horn, and is about to dispatch him with his sword: Ariadne stands ready with a garland to crown the victor. An Ionic column at each side of the picture shows that the combat takes place within the labyrinth. On the other side of the vase are Orneus, Pallas, Nisos and Lykos as spectators of the combat. Each figure has its inscription. The krater dates before the eastern front of the Parthenon. The figures are red upon a black ground. The place where it was found, the style of the painting, and the forms of the letters fix the date of the work at about 450 B. C. or very little later.—K. D. MYLONAS, *Bronze Satyr in the collection of Johannes Demetrios* (cf. pl. 6). The satyr published in pl. 6 is described and discussed. The right arm below the elbow and the fingers of the left hand are wanting. These parts are restored to correspond to the Naples satyr (*Mus. Barb.* ix, pl. 42 = Clarac, pl. 717, No. 1715 A). The supplementary plate gives drawings of the Naples satyr and the new satyr with restorations. The common prototype of these two works is referred to the age of Lysippos, and it is suggested that Lysippos himself may have been the artist (Plin. *H. N.* 35, 64).—P. KABBADIAS, *A Korinthian Capital from the Tholos of Polykleitos* (pl. 10). The capital in question is published and discussed. It differs in some particulars from the conjectural reconstruction made by Dörpfeld (*Hpxrtxuā*, 1883, pl. 4, No. 2) with the aid of such fragments as had then been found. The Tholos and Theatre of Epidaurus are referred to the younger Polykleitos.—K. PURGOLD, *An Archaic Pediment from the Akropolis* (continued from *Eφ.* 1884, p. 117). The pediment-relief representing Herakles in combat with the Hydra (*Eφ.* 1884, pl. 7) is compared with other representations of the same scene, especially with two vases (Heydemann, *Gr. Vasenb.* vi, 1; *Eφ.* 1884, pl. 7, 4). Directly or indirectly, the painters of the vases in question seem to have taken this relief as a model. An illustration in text represents an additional fragment of the Hydra. A discussion of a small fragment of another relief (*Eφ.* 1884, pl. 7, No. 2) follows. The opinion is expressed, that this fragment comes from the other pediment of the building to which the first-mentioned relief belonged, and, further, that the scene represented was the combat of Herakles and Triton. The same scene is represented on part of the frieze of Assos, a cut of which is given in the text. Finally, the style and execution of these reliefs are discussed. Of the fragment supposed to represent the combat with Triton so little is preserved that the discussion is confined mainly to the other relief. The ground of this relief was of a yellow color somewhat deeper than the natural color of the stone. The figures were brightly colored, the shades used being darker than the background. The stiffness and heaviness of the forms together

with the ignorance of the laws of rhythm in pedimental composition displayed in this relief show it to be the oldest extant specimen of Attic sculpture. Perhaps the end of the VII cent. B. C. would not be too early a date.—TH. SOPHOULES, *A Korinthian Kylix* (pl. 7). The publication of fragments of a kylix from Korinth leads to some remarks upon Korinthian vase-painting, and especially upon the fixed types or schemata employed by the vase-painters. Upon the base here published is represented a combat of men on foot and in chariots. The lower stripe is occupied by a number of figures dancing, with drinking horns in their hands, about a huge bowl. In the inside of the kylix are two female heads with inscriptions, *Nēspis* and *Klō(τ)a*.—Z. D. GABALAS, *An Inedited Inscription of Pholegandros*. The inscription reads: *Τειμῆς Σωστέλου | τιγνὶδίαν μητέρα | Ηραξιοπάνη Τειμεώς | θυγατέρα, ἡν καὶ | διδύμος ἐτειμῆσεν | Θεοῖς*. The form *Τειμῆς* and the name *Ηραξιοπάνη* are new.

1886. No. 1.—B. N. STAES, *Musical contest of Apollon with Marsyas* (pl. 1). The painting of one side of a bell-shaped krater from Krete is published. To the left of the centre, beside the trunk of a tree, sits the satyr playing on the double pipe: beside him is a wine-jar. The extreme left of the picture is occupied by Artemis. In front of Marsyas is Athena richly clad, wearing a helmet and the aegis, and carrying a spear. A Nike with a taenia is flying from Marsyas toward Athena. On the extreme right stands Apollon. For comparison, a similar but somewhat simpler representation is published as a supplementary plate (after Lenormant and De Witt, *Élise céramogr.* II. pl. 69). In spite of the central position of Athena, it is maintained that these paintings represent the first scene of the contest between Apollon and Marsyas. On the reverse of the Kretan krater is a satyr between two maenads.—S. A. KOUMANOUDES, *Inscriptions from the Excavations in the Market-place at Athens* (contin.). Nine inscriptions are published, mostly fragmentary, of late date and small value.—P. KABBADIAS, *Heads from the Figures in the Pediments of the Temple of Athena Alea* (pl. 2). Of the pediment-sculptures of the temple at Tegea only two human heads and the head of the boar are extant. One of the human heads is here published, and the opinion is expressed that it is the head of Atalanta. It consists of two fragments, the face being split from the chin up through the right eye. A helmet or cap like that here represented is not elsewhere given to Atalanta.—D. PHILIOS, *Eleusinian Reliefs* (pl. 3). Two reliefs are published, which were found in the ruins of a small *templum in antis* at Eleusis. No. 1 is well preserved but of poor workmanship. At each end of the relief is a column or anta; above is a cornice representing a roof. At the extreme right a bearded male figure lies on a couch, resting upon his left elbow. He holds a small box in his left hand, while his raised

right hand holds a drinking horn. At his feet sits upon the couch a female figure holding something in her hands. Before these figures is a table upon which are various objects. Above the head of the male is the inscription ΘΕΩΙ; above the female ΘΕΑΙ. To the left of these figures are seated two females: one holds her hand above the head of the other, against whose shoulder a sceptre is leaning. Before these figures is a table with objects upon it similar to those upon the other table. The extreme left is occupied by a large krater beside which stands a naked boy holding a small pitcher. Underneath is the inscription, *Λοσπαχιόης ἀνέθηξε*. No. 2 is a fragment of a large relief: a female head and a bearded male head are preserved. The figures to which these heads belonged held each a sceptre. Beside the heads are the inscriptions *Ιλιούταν* and *Θεά*. Near the head of Plouton is a torch which was evidently held by another person. The inscription tells that Lakratides, a priest, dedicated the relief. It is conjectured that the temple, in the ruins of which these reliefs were found, was the temple of Plouton.—CHR. D. TSOUNTAS, *Excavations of Tombs at Eretria* (pl. 4). Since last November some 200 tombs have been excavated at Eretria. They are of various epochs from the VI century B. C. down. The various forms of these tombs are described. In them were found many vases, among them thirty white lekythoi (including fragments). Two lekythoi are published. The first is a red-figured lekythos upon which is represented a diskobolos, naked, holding up the diskos in his left hand. His cloak lies beside him on a stool. On the cloak is the artist's name ΔΟΠΙΞ in Attic letters, the sigma being formed of only three lines. The drawing is less careful than that of other vases by *Δοῦπις*. The second vase is a white lekythos. In the centre of the painting is a low stele adorned with bands or fillets in bright red and black. Upon the stele sits in a chair a woman with yellow hair. She is dressed in a bright red cloak trimmed with black. In her hand she holds a cluster of grapes. Before her sits upon the ground (that is upon the top of the stele) a nude yellow-haired youth reaching out for the grapes. These two figures are very small. To the right of the stele stands a woman in a long cloak of bright red. She holds in each hand a dark brown wreath. To the left of the stele stands a youth leaning on a staff. His hair is yellowish brown: he wears a brown cloak. The outlines are drawn in yellow and brown with occasional lines of black.—S. BASES, *Epigraphica*. Remarks on the reading and interpretation of an inscription (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* VIII, p. 437) containing a letter of Sulla to the Statonikeans. Also further remarks on the consular letter to the Oropians (*Eph. Arch.* 1884, No. 3).—J. CH. DRAGATSES, *Antiquities of the Peiraeus*. 1. A relief representing the sacrifice of a pig to Zeus Meilichios. The party of worshippers consists of a man, two

women, three boys, and a girl. The relief shows traces of red and yellow colors. The inscription reads, *Αρτεμισία λαοὶ Μικηγίων*. Under No. 7 a monument is described which was found near the mouth of the λαγήν τῶν Ἀλῶν at the Peiraieus. The relief represents a half-draped male figure seated in an armchair. The inscription reads *Τυρνιαῖς Τύννωνος Τριχορέστος*.

No. 2.—B. I. LEONARDOS, *Inscriptions from the Amphiareion* (contin.). 14. On a square pedestal are the words *Σῶσις ἐποίησε*. This Sosis seems to be identical with the artist named in another inscription (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 1879, p. 444, No. 2; Löwy, *Ins. gr. Bild.* No. 150). 15. On a simple pedestal: a dedication by the Oropians of a statue of Pisis son of Charias to Amphiaraos. 16. On a simple pedestal: Charias son of Neoptolemos, an Athenian, dedicates to Amphiaraos a statue of his father. Praxias son of Lysimachos, an Athenian, was the artist. Both Charias and Praxias were already known; hence the inscription can be assigned to the second half of the IV cent. B. C. 17. Upon a monument of three stones: the Oropians dedicate to Amphiaraos a statue of their patron C. Scribonius Gai f. Curio. The artist was Xenokrates (cf. No. 19). This Scribonius was tribune B. C. 50. Numerous decrees of proxeny are inscribed upon the same monument. 18. On a monument: the people (of the Oropians) set up a statue of M. Agrippa L. f., thrice consul, their benefactor. The artist was Metiochos (cf. Löwy, *Inscr.* No. 342). The date of the monument is between 27 and 12 B. C. A number of decrees of proxeny are on the same monument. 19. The people of the Oropians dedicate to Amphiaraos a statue of Timarchos son of Theodoros. Upon the same stone is a decree of proxeny for Euboulides, son of Kalliades, an Athenian. This decree is of earlier date than the dedication, which seems to have displaced an older inscription. A second fragment of the same monument bears part of an elegiac inscription and the name of an artist,—Xenokrates, an Athenian. 20. The people of the Oropians dedicate to Amphiaraos a statue of Paulla Popillia daughter of Marcus, wife of Gnaeus Piso. Upon the same stone are decrees of proxeny. 21. The people of the Oropians dedicate to Amphiaraos a statue of their patron Gnaeus Calpurnius Gnaei f. Piso. Calpurnius Piso was consul B. C. 61. Upon the same monument are decrees of proxeny. 22. Upon a monument of four stones with cornice and ornamental base is a dedication to Amphiaraos, by the people of the Oropians, of a statue of P. Servilius Gai f. Isauricus consul imperator. P. Servilius acquired the cognomen Isauricus B. C. 74. Upon the same monument are decrees of proxeny of an earlier date than that of the dedicatory inscription. 23. Upon a small monolithic monument with cornice and ornamental base: Aristomedes dedicates a statue of his brother Megakleides son of Aristomenes. Upon the same stone are three decrees of proxeny, which are published.—

P. KABBADIAS, *Excavations on the Akropolis* (pls. 5, 6, and supplement). The excavations in the N. W. part of the Akropolis are described. Many objects of bronze and earthenware were found, which are referred to the earliest periods of Greek art. One head of Poros stone is referred to the pre-Hellenic time. The head is that of a bearded man, and resembles the masks found at Mykenai. The most important discoveries were made, toward the end of January, near the N. W. corner of the Erechtheion: there 14 archaic statues were found. These were mostly female figures. One is published (pl. 5). The figure consisted of several stones which were originally morticed and cemented together. The drapery falls in stiff straight folds; the hair is arranged in elaborate curls; the head is surmounted by a polos. Color was freely used upon these figures, though it does not appear that the whole surface was colored. The positions in which these figures were found, and their relation to the objects about them, show that they must have been used to help fill up and level the top of the Akropolis when the present wall was built after the Persian invasion. This is made clear by the supplementary plate. Archaic inscriptions also were found, five of which are published in facsimile (pl. 6). No. 1 is on a fragment of a column with Doric flutings to which a curious Ionic capital belongs. No. 2, also engraved upon a fragment of a column with Doric flutings, mentions an artist, Euenor: this cannot be the father of Parrhasios. No. 4 bears the name of the artist Antenor, son of Eumaro, the same who made the group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton which Xerxes carried off. No. 5, inscribed upon the pedestal of a statue, bears the name of the artist Theodoros. Perhaps this is Theodoros the Samian. A fragment of the cornice of a pedestal is also published and described. The colors employed upon the cornice are red, blue, gray, chestnut, orange and green.—B. N. STAES, *Scenes of the Gigantomachia* (pl. 7). Six fragments of pottery from the Akropolis are published. Three of these belong together, having originally formed part of a large vase. The figures are black upon a red ground. The giants are represented as hoplites. The figures of Zeus, Herakles, Hermes, Dionysos, and perhaps Gaia and Poseidon, can be recognized. The figures have inscriptions. Upon two fragments of a large vase with red figures are two heads, one of which is the head of Dionysos. The sixth fragment published belongs to a kylix, part of which was published *Eph. Apz.* 1885, pl. 52. This fragment represents the body of a fallen giant, and the foot and part of the robe of his conqueror. Remarks upon representations of the gigantomachia follow. Three classes are established: the oldest, in which the giants are represented as hoplites, the second in which they appear as savages, the third in which they have serpents for legs.—S. A. KOUMANOUDES, *Two dozen Attic Decrees*. Twenty-four fragments of de-

crees are published, all from Athens. Also a fragment of a decree of proxeny found on the site of the bazaar lately destroyed by fire. Nos. 1 and 2 are pre-Eukleidean. No. 4 is part of a treaty between the Athenians and the Thracian rulers Kersobleptes, Beresades and Amadokos. Several of these inscriptions contain the names of archons, which fixes their date. All are very fragmentary.

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

GAZETTE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE. 1886. Nos. 1-2.—A. SORLIN-DORIGNY, *The Death of Aigisthos: a marble bas-relief in the Museum of Constantinople* (pl. 1). This fragment of a sarcophagus is one of the best reliefs in the museum: it represents a nude figure kneeling on a couch and defending himself with a footstool, which he is hurling against a warrior who advances with shield and helmet. The subject has been in dispute: Mr. Goold suggested the death of Alkibiades; Dr. Dethier and M. Dumont, the death of Neoptolemos; M. Reinach, the murder of Aigisthos or Neoptolemos. The writer shows that the only plausible subject is the murder of Aigisthos by Orestes and Pylades. In the relief the shield of the second hero is visible, and on the right a wing indicating the presence of an avenging Erinys.—A. ODOBESCO, *Silver cup of the goddess Nana-Anat* (contin.). Under the Achæmenidæ the worship of Aphrodite-Anaitis took considerable extension, and the writer refers to its spread in Further-Asia, especially on the borders of India, as of importance for the identification of the cup in question. He then passes from an examination of the central portion to that of the eight figures which surround it, and are arranged in affronted couples, dancing, six of them bearing sacred vases or offerings. Their robe, after covering arms and chest, is drawn in at the waist and then descends in the form of a skirt to the ankles: four of the figures are evidently females, but the sex of the others is doubtful.—A. CHABOUILLET, *Study on some cameos of the Cabinet des Médailles* (contin.). I. The attribution of the cameo here studied (see JOURNAL, II, 114) to Seleukos I is not supported by any resemblance to his authentic portrait on gold staters; other identifications with Alexander and Achilleus are equally unsatisfactory. II. The repose of Venus: this subject represents the reclining goddess attended by three amorini; in white on a sardonyx ground: its antiquity is doubtful. III. Episode of the myth of the education of Dionysos. Rhea raises herself partly out of the ground and takes in her arms the infant Dionysos, who caresses her and holds in the other hand a bunch of grapes: a bacchante and a hermes complete the scene. Fine antique (cf. article *Bacchus* by Fr. Lenormant in Daremburg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Ant. grecques et rom.*).—CH. DE LINAS, *The ivory book of the public library of Rouen* (pl. 4). Study on a ms. on vellum whose wooden covers are decorated with ivory

plaques. The volume contains documents relating to the history of the Church of Rouen and to its possessions. The copper borders of the binding are in the sober style of end xi or beg. xii cent. Each of the ivory plaques contains an aedicula with triangular gable whose entablature is supported by two channelled pilasters with Corinthian capitals: under one stands St. Peter holding a key and draped in a pallium; under the other is a figure in profile, similarly draped, holding an unrolled volumen, whom M. de Linas considers to be St. John. The style of both these figures and of the ornamentation is classical in every detail: the writer compares this work to the famous angel in the British Museum, and attributes it to a Greek artist of the time of Theodosios. The plaques were originally ecclesiastical diptychs.—MAURICE PROU, *Bronze basin of the xi or xii century representing the youth of Achilleus*. This is another example, similar to that of the history of Odysseus (*Gazette Arch.* 1885, pls. 4, 5), of the subjects borrowed by medieval art from antiquity. On this *aquamanile*, now in the Louvre, the principal episodes of the youth of Achilleus are engraved on the interior: Cheiron teaching him to play on the lyre; Thetis conducting him to Lykomedes; presenting him to the king; Achilleus choosing the arms; the hero departing; confessing his love for Deidameia; embarked in a vessel. The details of armor and costume place the execution of this work c. 1100.—EMILE MOLINIER, *The architects of the Château de Fontainebleau*. Though more has been written on this château than on any other of the Renaissance, but little is known with certainty of its architects and history. In this first paper of a series on the subject, the writer disputes M. Palustre's attribution, to the French architect Pierre Chambiges, of the constructions in brick and stone of the "Cour du Cheval Blanc."

Nos. 3-4.—A. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, *The repose of Herakles; bronze disk in the British Museum*. The hero reclines on a lion-skin, lazily resting on his right arm, while around him gambol Erotes, some of whom have taken possession of his arms, while others charm him with music. Compare with this subject a similar one in which a nude female figure reclines voluptuously.—PAUL MONCEAU, *Statues at Cherchell from the Greek Museum of the Mauretanian kings at Caesarea* (pl. 7). I. A statue of a faun from the train of Dionysos, accompanied by a panther; a graceful group, though late. II. A female statue of natural size, probably of Artemis, having the beauty and delicacy of a Greek original. It is archaic in the arrangement of the hair and the narrow folds of the long chiton, moulded to the limbs, while the harmonious arrangement of the diplois and the suppleness of execution point to the best period of Hellenic art. These traces of Greek art in Numidia, supplemented by the coins of Juba and Ptolemy and by the columns, friezes and mouldings, in

fact by all the ruins, of the site, show that at Cherchell there was a centre of Greek influence. History explains this. Juba II, the founder of Caesarea, who fought at Actium, lived in the East, and received the citizenship of Athens. He brought from Greece some original statues and procured many copies, thus founding the museum of Greek art of which these two statues are remnants, and of which 21 more specimens are scattered in the museums of Paris, Algiers and Cherchell.—HENRI BOUCHOT, *The portrait of Louis II of Anjou, king of Sicily, in the Bibliothèque Nationale* (pl. 8). Only one portrait of Louis I of Anjou († 1384) is known, and this is but a copy by Gaignières from a ms. since destroyed. His son Louis II, king of Sicily, was no better represented: Gaignières had also made a copy, he says, from an "original pastel" of this king: besides this, only a supposed portrait in a painted glass window at Le Mans existed. Fortunately, the original of Gaignières' copy has just come to light, and has been given to the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is a contemporary aquarelle portrait of great merit.—E. BABELON, *Seilenos and a Bacchante, a bronze of the De Janzé collection* (pl. 9). A group attributed to the Roman art of the first century, perhaps from Herculaneum [of rather doubtful authenticity?].—A. ODOBESCO, *Silver cup of the goddess Nana-Anat* (cont.) (pls. 10, 11, 12). Comparison of the cup with other ancient pieces of metal-sculpture of Central Asia: (1) the patera of Idalion, and (2) the patera in the Varvakeion museum (Athens), both representing priestess-musicians of the great goddess; (3) a Strogonoff silver oinochoe; (4) a De Brosses vase. This comparison strengthens the theory that the silver cup is a work, if not of Persian art of the Sasanid period, at least related to this art. The art of Central Asia has never been adequately studied, though its monuments would throw considerable light on the religious customs and civilizations of its peoples since the fall of Assyria and before the rise of Islam.—L. DELISLE, *Royal and princely copies of the Miroir historial* (pls. 13, 14, 15, 16). The study of miniature-painting is greatly facilitated by a comparison with works whose dates are known. The three which form the subject of this study and are full of paintings are exactly dated and are copies of the French translation of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, made by Jean du Vignay, and usually containing a series of paintings illustrating universal history. (1) No. 317 Fonds Français, Bibl. Nat., probably one of the autograph copies of Jean du Vignay, dated 1333: this volume, the only one of the four that remains, contains 320 paintings. (2) ms. of the Univ. of Leyden (*Cod. Vossianus, 3a*)—also a single volume, and a remarkably precious one, as it was the copy of kings Jean and Charles V; it is contemporary with the preceding and dates from Philippe de Valois: it contains 280 paintings, of which the writer gives a

full catalogue. (3) In 1395 and 1396 Thevenin Angevin had the *Miroir historial* copied by order of Louis, duc d'Orléans, in four volumes: three of these are still preserved in the Bibl. Nat. (Nos. 312, 313, 314) and contain 550 paintings in *grisaille*.

A. L. F. JR.

JAHRBUCH DES K. DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS.

Vol. I, 1886. No. 1.—A. CONZE, *Introductory Remarks*.—A. CONZE, *The Praying Boy in the Royal Museum of Berlin* (3 figs.). The history of this well-known statue is given from the time when it was the property of Nicolas Fouquet down to the present day. The hypothesis is advanced, that the replica of this statue in Venice is a modern copy. The Venice figure has no arms, but the arms of the Berlin figure are modern. Perhaps the present position of the hands with the palms turned upward is incorrect. It is suggested that the real date of the statue is in Hellenistic times.—AD. MICHAELIS, *The so-called Ephesian Amazon statues* (pls. 1-4; 5 figs.). The material for the discussion is described, and classified under three types: the Lansdowne, the Capitoline, and the Mattei. A discussion of the heads of the three types follows. The three are then reconstructed as follows: the Capitoline type rests her weight mainly upon the left foot. With her right hand, which is raised higher than her head, she supports herself upon a spear. Her left hand touches a wound on her right side. The right breast and side are bare, while the left side is covered by a tunic fastened over the shoulder. The Lansdowne type leans her left elbow on a pillar. Her right hand is raised and rests upon her head. The tunic is fastened over the right shoulder, but falls so that both breasts are uncovered. The face in both these types expresses lassitude and sadness. The Mattei type rests her weight mainly on the right foot. She holds a spear or staff nearly upright along her left side. The left hand hangs down somewhat and touches the spear below the hips of the figure, while the right arm is raised and the hand grasps the spear above her head so that her face looks out under her forearm. This type wears a tunic fastened over the right shoulder; under the left arm hang a bow and quiver. She seems about to take a leap with the aid of her spear. The Lansdowne type is referred to Polykleitos, the Capitoline type to some master hardly later than Polykleitos (possibly Pheidias), the Mattei type to an artist of a somewhat later period, but it is denied that the three types are all to be referred to one original conception. Plates 1 and 2 give two views of an amazon in Petworth (Mattei type), plate 3 gives the Berlin amazon and a head in the British Museum (Lansdowne type), plate 4 gives three views of an amazon torso in Wörlitz (Capitoline type).—M. FRÄNKEL, *A consecrated Frog* (vignette). A bronze frog is published with the inscription "*Αμων Σενόνος Βοδσοντι*". The frog is of Korin-

thian origin. The deity referred to by the epithet *Bόσσων* is Apollon. The frog, being able to predict bad weather, is brought into connection with the god of prophecy.—P. WOLTERS, *Communications from the British Museum* (pl. 5). • I. *Praxitelean Heads*. Two heads in the British Museum are published. Both are declared to be Praxitelean. The first (*Guide to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, II (1876), pp. 44, 97) is explained as the head of a victor in some game. The second (*op. cit.*, I (1879), pp. 199, 105) is the youthful Herakles. II. *The Gigantomachia of Priene*. Technical considerations, such as the form and finish of the slabs of which the frieze of Priene is composed, show that this was not the frieze of the temple, but probably formed a balustrade. Then, the date of the temple is not necessarily the date of the frieze. The style and execution of the relief speak for a later date. It is therefore probable, that the frieze of Priene is not so old as the frieze of Pergamon, though it cannot be of much later date. There is no reason for the belief that any part of the frieze of Priene represents Amazons or Centaurs.—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

MITTHEILUNGEN DES K. DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTES. ATHENISCHE ABTHEILUNG. Vol. XI. No. 1.—E. FABRICIUS, *A Pergamenian Country Town*. The region called Kosak, which lies between Pergamon and the gulf of Adramyttion, is described. Then follows a description, by R. Bohn, of the ruins of a small town situated near Aschaga-Beiköi. The course of the fortifications can, for the most part, be followed. Remains of various buildings are described, among which the theatre is most remarkable. The wings of the cavea are cut off so that the upper seats form only a comparatively small arc. The orchestra appears to be of the usual shape. A Fig. of the theatre is given in the text, and Plate I is a plan of the ruins of the town. Remains of a neighboring settlement appear to date from the early Middle Ages. The ruins above described appear to belong mainly to the period of the Pergamene monarchy. The name of the town cannot be determined. Perperene, Trarion, and Attaleia are suggested.—F. DUEMMLER, *Communications from the Greek Islands*. I. *Remains of pre-Hellenic population on the Kyklades*. Prehistoric graves on Amorgos and Melos are described. Some of the objects found in them are given on supplementary plates, 1 and 2. These consist mainly of pottery, weapons, etc., of bronze and obsidian. Similar articles have been found in Rheneia, Paros, Naxos, the Eremonisia, Ios, Thera, Therasia, Oliaros, Syra and Delphi. The art displayed in these objects stands between that of Hissarlik and that of Mykenai. It is evident that we have to do with the relics of a people which were firmly settled in the Kyklades before the advent of

the Hellenes. Perhaps these people were the Leleges, in which case the inhabitants of Mykenai may have been Karians.—H. G. LOLLING, *Communications from Thessaly*. II. *Sepulchral Inscriptions*. Fifty sepulchral inscriptions are given, most of them for the first time. Of these, fifteen are from Pagasai, one from Pherai, four from Demetrias, one from Meliboeia (?), two from Gonnos, one from Skotoussa, and twenty-six from Larissa and its neighborhood.—F. STUDNICZKA, *Attic Pediments of Poros stone*. The very fragmentary relief (pl. II, 1) representing the combat of Herakles with Triton (cf. *Eph. Arch.* 1885, No. 4) is said to have belonged to the same building as the relief representing the combat with the Hydra (*Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 147, pl. 7; 1885, No. 4: *Mittheilungen*, x, 3 and 4). Besides Herakles and the fish-bodied Triton, there must have been Nereids as spectators to fill the space of the pediment. Other representations of this scene are cited for comparison. It is shown that the reliefs in question belong to the first half of the VI cent. B. C. Perhaps the building to which these reliefs belonged was a Herakleion. A fragment of a relief is published (pl. II, 2) representing two satyrs and a maenad. This was found ten years ago near the Dionysiac Theatre, and perhaps belonged to the pediment of the oldest temple of Dionysos.—F. HALBHERR, *An Inscription of Amorgos*. A fragmentary decree of proxeny of the city of Minoa on Amorgos (*Ann. dell' Inst.* XIV, p. 153; *Arch. Zeitg.* 1843, p. 107; Ross, *Inscr. Gr. ined.* III, p. 58; Rhangabé, *Ant. hell.* II, p. 342) is published anew with corrections.—F. HALBHERR, *New Coins of Axos*. Two coins published by P. Lambros in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (XIII, p. 125 *et seq.*) and referred by him to Naxos, are shown to belong to Axos or Oaxos, the initial letter being a local form for the digamma, not a N.—F. STUDNICZKA, *Terracotta Relief from Tenos* (vignette). A relief is published, which represents a fallen warrior being devoured by a bird of prey. The style is similar to that of the "Dipylon vases." Various archaic representations of similar scenes are cited, nearly all of which have been wrongly interpreted as Prometheus. One Kyrenaic vase-painting (*Arch. Ztg.* 1881, pl. 12, 3, p. 218, No. 11, p. 23) which was formerly believed to represent Prometheus, has since been interpreted as Zeus with the eagle. The same type appears on coins of Arkadia. Remarks follow on the relation of Kyrene to Arkadia.—**MISCELLANIES.** *Literature and Discoveries*.—*Reports of Meetings*. HAROLD N. FOWLER.

MITTHEILUNGEN DES K. DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEM INSTITUTES. RÖMISCHE ABTHEILUNG (*Bullettino dell' Instituto archeologico germanico, sezione romana*). Vol. I. No. 1.—G. TOMASSETTI, *The marble mosaic of the Palazzo Colonna* (pl. I). A marble mosaic, or rather opus sectile is published and described. In the centre stands a tree (prob-

ably the *ficus Ruminalis*) upon which sit two birds. At the foot of the tree stands a shepherd with cloak of skin, a crook and a cap. To the right at the bottom is a she-wolf under which two infants sit reaching after her dugs. Above is a square altar over which a bird flies toward the centre. At the left of the scene sits the goddess Roma upon a rock the lower part of which is cut in architectural curves. The goddess has shield, spear, and helmet. At the base of the rock are two animals. The colored stones which once filled in the mosaic are gone except from the body of the wolf, nearly the whole of one of the children, and the end of the shepherd's crook; but the outlines of the bed prepared for the mosaic show plainly what was represented. Other representations of the mythical foundation of Rome are discussed. The mosaic in question is referred to the end of the second century. It was found in a place called *Tor messer Paolo*, to the left of the Via Appia, near the *Castello di Marino*. Perhaps this was the site of a villa of the Valerii Messallae, who bore the cognomina Paulus and Paulinus.—W. HELBIG, *Excavations of Capodimonte*. About 2½ miles from Capodimonte, on the site of the ancient Visentium, excavations have been conducted by the owners of the land, Signori Brenciaglia. Forty tombs have been discovered, belonging to two epochs, the latest being as old as the early part of the v cent. b. c. In these were found many black-figured Attic vases, as well as vases of Etruscan manufacture. One of the Attic vases bears the artist's name, Hermogenes. Numerous articles of bronze and of other metals were also found. A number of vases and other objects are described. In one tomb a skeleton was found adorned with ornaments of gold, bronze, glass and iron. Three teeth of the skeleton were united by a band of gold. In the older tombs were a number of vases and metal ornaments. Several scarabs with Egyptian figures were found, two of which are represented by illustrations in the text.—W. HELBIG, *A Portrait of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus* (pl. II). A bust of Pompey is published and discussed. The phototypes are made from a cast sent from Paris to the publisher. For comparison a coin of S. Pompeius with a head of Pompeius Magnus is published. The face does not indicate great intellect or force of character.—W. HENZEN, *An Inscription relating to the Horrea Galbiana*. The inscription, apparently of the time of Trajan, is a dedication to Hercules from the contributions of the *horrearii* of the second cohort. The consuls mentioned (M. Junio Mettio Rufo Q. Pomponio Materno cos.) are unknown.—A. MAU, *On certain apparatus in the Pistrini of Pompeii* (pl. III). Certain cylindrical utensils found near the kneading-tables and ovens of Pompeii are described. Plan and section of four such cylinders are given. Inside the cylinders were remains of iron frames for wooden beaters or kneaders, which, revolving in the cylinders, must have served to mix the dough.—N. MUELLER, *The Catacombs of the Hebrews near*

the *Via Appia Pignatelli*. These catacombs, which were excavated in 1885, are described. They were plundered in earlier times, consequently the objects found were of little original value. Vases and lamps, mostly of poor quality, were found, as well as seven brick stamps of the II cent. A. D. Six inscriptions from these catacombs are published, and one each from those of Venosa and the *Vigna Randanini*.—A. MAU, *Storia degli Scavi di Ercolano ricomposta su' documenti superstizi da MICHELE RUGGIERO, Architetto direttore degli scavi e monumenti del regno*: Napoli, 1885. This valuable book, which collects in permanent form what is known of the excavations at Herculaneum, is reviewed. Brief mention is made of another work by the same author: *Degli scavi di Stabia dal 1749 al 1782; Notizie raccolte e pubblicate da MICHELE RUGGIERO*: Napoli, 1881.—
REPORTS OF MEETINGS.

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

NECROLOGY.

CHARLES C. PERKINS.

Short as the life of this Journal has been—hardly more than a year—it already has to mourn the loss of one of its editorial staff, in the recent death of Mr. Charles C. Perkins of Boston. Mr. Perkins was doubtless the best known of American writers upon the fine arts. All his life had been given to study of the practice, the history, and the archaeology of art in its various forms. His early years, after his graduation from Harvard, he gave to European study, at first in music. In this he not only acquired skill enough to play the piano in public on special occasion, but devoted himself to the theory of music, and practised its composition. Not limiting himself, as do most amateurs, to its lighter forms, he tried the highest walks of composition, writing chamber music—piano trios, string quartettes, and even that most exacting of all, from which most American composers have shrunk, the string quintette. While in Paris he studied painting under Ary Schaeffer, and afterwards practised etching with Bracquemond and Lalanne. The study of the arts of design ended in diverting his energies from the practice of music, although to the end of his days he was a warm amateur and promoter of it, retaining the presidency of the Handel and Haydn society of Boston, and being always among the leaders of musical patronage. These varied studies and his extending artistic interest led him to a wide connoisseurship in all the arts; it is in this aspect that he was best known at home. There was hardly a branch of art which he did not study, and in which he did not aspire to more than an amateur's knowledge; and there was no artistic movement of importance in his own community in which he did not share.

It was in the history and archaeology of the fine arts that Mr. Perkins's best work was done. During a long residence in Italy his attention was specially turned to the study of early Italian sculpture. The product of this study was his *magnus opus*, his work on Tuscan sculptors, published by Longmans in 1864 in two richly illustrated quarto volumes, and completed four years later by a like volume on Italian sculptors. In this he brought to notice the neglected works of the great forerunners and early leaders of the Italian Renaissance. The work gave him at once a prominent place among writers upon art. It covered ground which before his

time had hardly been touched, and being the fruit of independent labor, from first-hand sources consulted on the spot, it carried the authority both of a pioneer and of an expert. The ability, unusual in a writer, to illustrate his work by etchings and drawings from his own hand, added to its éclat. These volumes have not been so well known or so highly honored at home, where special students in their field are rare; but their value was quickly acknowledged by European scholars, and won for Mr. Perkins the rare distinction of a corresponding membership of the Institute of France. So completely did he take possession of his subject that his work, though now twenty years old, has not ceased to be quoted as the leading authority for it.

The qualifications and the reputation so acquired made him, on his return home, helpful and influential in a community which was beginning to be stirred by a new enthusiasm for the arts and their literature. The systems of instruction in music, drawing, and design which were established in the schools of Boston and the rest of Massachusetts were mainly due to his initiative. He was active in the building of the Music Hall at Boston, and furnished at his own cost the fine bronze statue of Beethoven by Crawford, which is its chief ornament, for the model of which, it is due to Crawford to say, the sculptor refused to be paid. The Museum of Fine Arts in that city owes its being and its form more to his energy and enterprise than to those of any other man, and in recognition of this he was made and has remained its Honorary Director. He wrote the descriptive catalogue of the sculpture gallery in this museum, and his interest in its collections and zeal for their enlargement were unflagging.

In the midst of these public cares, Mr. Perkins's literary activity and productiveness were remarkable. His reputation as an authority in the history of art, and as a critic, made him sought after. He delivered many lectures and addresses, was a contributor to many American and foreign periodicals, was one of the leading writers for the *American Art Review*, and has furnished a number of articles to this *Journal*, of which he was one of the editorial contributors. He edited and annotated the American edition of Eastlake's "Hints on Household Taste," as well as the translation of Dr. Falke's "Art in the House," a work of like subject but larger scope. Eight years ago he published a comparative study entitled "Raphael and Michelangelo," a critical and biographical essay. Somewhat later he condensed into a single large octavo the substance of his *Tuscan Sculptors and Italian Sculptors*, with the additional material needed to justify a larger range and its title of "An Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture." He was the critical editor of the monumental "*Cyclopædia of Painters and Paintings*" which Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons are now publishing, the ms. of which, it is understood, is complete. His last finished work, issued

this year, aptly closed the cycle of his literary labor, and brought him back to the field of his first successes. It is a monograph on Ghiberti, a handsome illustrated quarto published by Rouam of Paris, written in French as one of the series of his *Bibliothèque internationale de l'Art*, at the request of its editor and his friend M. Eugène Müntz. At the time of his death he was busy, we are told, with the material for a treatise on The Science of Beauty, which he had begun to write.

A career like Mr. Perkins's is full of example for a stirring, money-loving community, where the busy are tempted to grasping self-absorption, and the rich to idle indulgence. Born to wealth, and with every opportunity for a life of luxurious ease, he led a life of untiring industry, of equal devotion to his private studies and his public duties. His social grace won him favor everywhere; his public spirit, enterprise, and single-mindedness gave effect to his advocacy of public undertakings for the furtherance of the arts; his interest, his activity, and when there was occasion his purse, were ready for whatever seemed to him to encourage them. He has left his mark on the literature of art and archæology, and on the institutions of his own city.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- A. A. Carnana.** Recent further excavations of the Megalithic Antiquities of Hagar-Kim, Malta, executed in the year 1885. Fol. oblong, pp. 11 with seven full-size lithographs. Malta, 1886, *Government press*.
- A. de Champeaux.** Dictionnaire des fondeurs, ciseleurs, modeleurs en bronze et doreurs, depuis le moyen-âge jusqu'à l'époque actuelle. A-C. 12mo, pp. 357. Paris, 1886, *Librairie de l'Art*.
- De Clercq.** Collection de Clercq: Catalogue méthodique et raisonné. I. Antiquités Assyriennes. Folio, pp. 114 with 24 heliotype plates by Dujardin. Paris, 1886, *Leroux*.
- Maxime Collignon.** Phidias (Les Artistes Célèbres). Ouvrage accompagné de 45 gravures. 8vo, pp. 127. Paris, 1886, *Librairie de l'Art*.
- Maxime Collignon.** Tablettes votives de terre cuite peinte trouvées à Corinthe (Musée du Louvre) (Extrait des Monuments Grecs, Nos. 11-13, années 1882-84). 4to, pp. 12, 8 figs. Paris, 1886, *Georges Chamerot*.
- Charles Cournault.** Jean Lamour, serrurier du roi Stanislas, à Nancy (Les Artistes Célèbres). Ouvrage accompagné de 26 gravures. 8vo, pp. 29. Paris, 1886, *Librairie de l'Art*.
- R. P. Delattre.** Archéologie Chrétienne de Carthage. Fouilles de la basilique de Damous-el-Karita (1884) (Bibliothèque illustrée des Missions catholiques. 8vo, pp. 65. Lyon, 1886, *Bureaux des Missions catholiques*.
- J. B. Giraud.** L'organisation des Musées et le fonctionnement de l'Enseignement du Dessin en Angleterre. 8vo, pp. 111. Lyon, 1885.
- Eugène Müntz.** Les mosaïques byzantines portatives (Extrait du *Bulletin Monumental*, 52^e vol. 1886). 8vo, pp. 20. Caen, 1886, *Le Blanc-Hardel*.
- J. B. de Rossi.** De origine, historia, indicibus scrinii et bibliothecae sedis apostolicae (ex t. 1, *Rescensionis Cod. Palat. Lat. Bib. Vat.*) 4to, pp. 134. Romae, 1886, *ex typographo Vaticano*.
- G. B. de Rossi.** Le Horrea sotto l'Aventino e la statio annonae urbis Romae (Estratto dagli *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1885). 8vo, pp. 12, plate. Roma, 1885.
- Ettore de Ruggiero.** Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane. Fasc. I. Abacus-Achaia. R. 8vo, pp. 32. Roma, 1886, *Tipog. della R. Accad. dei Lincei*.

XUM

1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



ORIENTAL CYLINDERS OF THE WILLIAMS COLLECTION.

9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



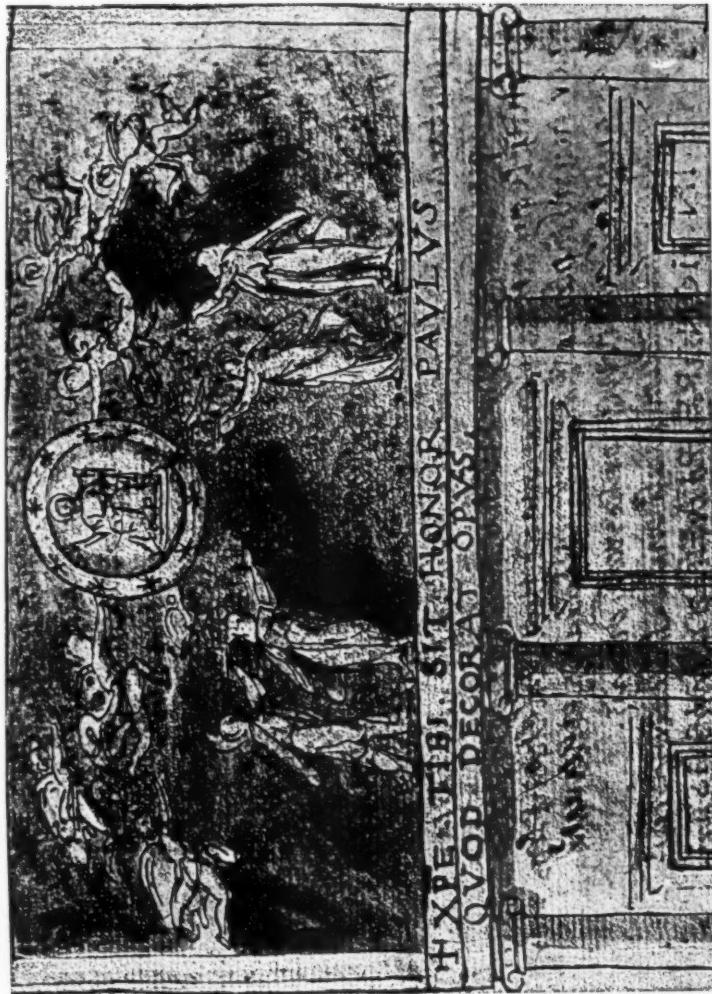
18



ORIENTAL CYLINDERS OF THE WILLIAMS COLLECTION.



INTAILLES ANTIQUES DE LA COLLECTION DE LUYNES.



MOSAIC OF PAUL I IN S. MARIA IN TURRI.
(Vatican Basilica, Rome.)



MARBLE HEADS IN THE TCHINIY-KIOSK MUSEUM, CONSTANTINOPLE.